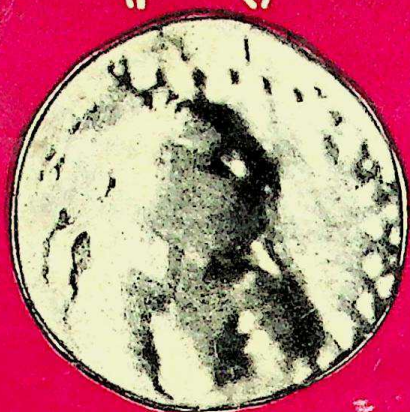


THE PARADAS



B.N.
MUKHERJEE

THE PĀRADAS

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PILGRIM PUBLISHERS
CALCUTTA

Pārada is a name well-known to the students of the history of ancient Orient, particularly of early India. Not so is the history of the *Pārada* people who have often been confused in modern writings with the Parthians or the Pahlavas.

The present monograph is the first ever attempt to narrate the past of the *Pārada* people. Drawing information from numismatic, epigraphic and literary data, the author has painstakingly re-written an almost forgotten chapter of the history of the Orient.

Chapter I describes the coins of the *Pāradas* and discusses relevant problems. Chapter II furnishes a complete catalogue of the *Pārada* coins. Chapter III reconstructs the political and cultural history of the *Pārada* people and recounts the fascinating story of the migrations of this people from Media to different places of Asia and ultimately to the Indian subcontinent.

The present study adds the name of the *Pāradas* to the list of the tribes and also of foreign peoples who struck coins in the Indian subcontinent. Like the *S'akas*, *Pahlavas*, *Kushāṇas*, etc, the *Pāradas* also contributed, though in a somewhat lesser degree, to the development of the political and cultural history of the Indian subcontinent and its borderlands. Though all the desirable details of the history of the *Pāradas* are not yet available, the present monograph enables one to understand, at least to some extent, the personality of a people who apparently played an important part in early Orient.



THE PĀRADAS
A STUDY IN THEIR COINAGE AND HISTORY

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TO
DR. RAMESH CHANDRA MAJUMDAR
THE GREAT LIVING AUTHORITY
ON INDIAN HISTORY
AS A TOKEN OF RESPECT
FOR HIS
VERSATILE SCHOLARSHIP

PREFACE

IT WAS a gloomy evening in the winter of 1961-62. As Dr. A. D. H. Bivar of the School of Oriental and African Studies and myself were walking down the Tottenham Court Road, London, he showed me a silver coin bearing a bust on one side and a *svastika* symbol and a Brāhmi legend on the other side. The inscription suggested that the coin belonged to a king of the Parata people or country. I became interested in the piece, since the name *Parata* was known to me from early Indian literature. I sought permission from Mr. E. Shortt of the Wiltshire Museum, the then owner of the coin, for examining it. He kindly granted the permission. I also searched, with the permission of the Late John Walker, for similar species in the collection of stray coins in the British Museum cabinet. My labour was rewarded with the discovery of a whole series of coins of the Parata or Pārada people. Several of these pieces were, no doubt, noticed earlier, but none of them was recognised as belonging to the Paratas or the Pāradas and hence their importance was not properly assessed.

The discovery of the Parata or Pārada coins led me to search for references to this people in Indian and non-Indian literary and epigraphic sources. By the end of 1962 I was in possession of a considerable amount of materials. But my other commitments prevented me from analysing these until about the end of 1967. The present treatise itself, which embodies the results of such analyses, was written in 1970.

The text of each chapter of this volume is followed by notes, which incorporate detailed notices of original sources and secondary works. Nevertheless, since the present book is the first comprehensive work on the problems connected with the history and coinage of the Pāradas, it has been thought prudent to indicate all the major sources of our information in a particular section. This has been done in the Select Bibliography.

In spelling of proper names, we have tried to follow, with a few necessary exceptions, conventional forms. *San*, appearing

on several coins, has been transcribed as *sh*. The sound signified by *san* is known to have been expressed by the letter *sh* in Indian sources. No diacritical mark has been used, with a few exceptions, in modern proper names, including geographical. The term *India* denotes, unless otherwise indicated, the Indian sub-continent comprising the territories of Indian republic, Pakistan and Bangladesh.

In course of my research I have used different libraries and museums. Here special mention may be made of the National Library, Calcutta, and the libraries of the Asiatic Society, Calcutta, the Sanskrit College, Calcutta, the British Museum, London, the School of Oriental and African Studies, London, the Royal Asiatic Society, London, the Society for the Promotion of Hellenic Studies, London, the Society of Antiquary, London, and the Royal Numismatic Society, London. We have examined, *inter alia*, the cabinet of the British Museum, London, and the collection of Mr. H. Shortt of Wiltshire. I am extremely grateful to the authorities concerned for granting me facilities conducive to carry on research. I may here specially refer to Messrs. G. K. Jenkins, R. Carson, P. Finn and K. A. Howes of the Department of Coins and Medals of the British Museum, who had been of great help to me in examining coins. Miss Nelson of the Royal Asiatic Society, Mr. S. N. Dey of the Sanskrit College library, and Messrs. S. Chaudhuri, D. P. Gupta, R. Chatterjee and D. Dutta of the Asiatic Society, Calcutta, ungrudgingly supplied all the books I required.

In course of my research I have received valuable advices and suggestions from eminent Indologists like Dr. R. G. Basak, Prof. S. K. Saraswati, Prof. A. L. Basham and Dr. D. W. MacDowall and also from Prof. H. W. Bailey, a great authority on Iranian studies, and Prof E. J. Pulleyblank, the distinguished Sinologist. I availed myself of the opportunities of getting authentic translations of various sources, scattered in a number of languages. Translations of relevant passages from Chinese have been done by Mr. I. Legaza, from Greek and Latin by Dr. W. Metzler, from Tibetan by Mr. B. Mukherjee, and from Arabic by Mr. A. Khallaque. Dr. A. D. H. Bivar of the School of Oriental and African Studies, London, Dr. K. K. Das Gupta of the Calcutta University, and Mr. B. K. Ray Chaudhuri of the

Surendra Nath College, Calcutta, discussed with me various problems related to the subject concerned. I am grateful to all these scholars, but for whose help and guidance it would have been impossible for me to collect data from widely diffused sources and to make an attempt to write the history of the Pāradas.

The manuscript has been carefully typed by Messrs. S. Mukherjee and S. Sen. The index has been prepared by Dr. D. N. Das. Mr. D. Roy has designed the jacket and has drawn the map. He has also arranged the plates, photographs for which had been kindly supplied by the British Museum and Mr. A. Sinha. I am indebted to these friends of mine and also to the owners of different collections, objects from which are illustrated in plates II and III (see Description of Plates).

Mr. B. Mukherjea has seen the book through the press. Proofs have been corrected by him. The members of the staff of the Temple press, who have been entrusted with the supervision of the printing of this volume, tried their best to print it as nicely as possible. Mr. N. Dey has rendered assistance in various other ways. I am grateful to each of them for taking personal care in course of printing.

In spite of our best efforts, a few printing mistakes have crept in (see the Corrigenda). For these I crave indulgence of readers.

Calcutta
December, 1971

B. N. MUKHERJEE

*“Indrakṛiṣṭairvartayanti dhānyairnadīmukhaiścha ye |
Samudranikaṭe (or nishkuṭe) jātāḥ parisindhu
nivāsinaḥ (or cha mānavāḥ) ||
Te Vairāmāḥ Pāradāscha Vaṅgāscha Kitavaiḥ
saha |”*

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THE PĀRADAS
A STUDY IN THEIR COINAGE AND HISTORY

CHAPTER I

COINS

A

COINS, surviving into our age from an earlier period, are living commentaries on the dead past. This is particularly true of those pieces which can form a distinct group on the basis of their types, or legends, or provenances. They throw much light on the history of the issuers and their period.

There are some coins which may be critically examined from these points of view. These pieces can be divided into three groups on the basis of the scripts of their legends.

Coins of the group I carry Kharoshthī and traces of Greek inscriptions. Only two specimens of these coins are known. First published by A. Cunningham,¹ they are at present in the British Museum cabinet.

Both the pieces are struck in copper and are almost round in shape. The first of them weighs 150 grains [9.720 grammes (approximately)²] and the second 150.6 grains [9.758 grammes]. The size of the first is .9 inch [22.869 millimetres (approximately)³] and that of the second .85 inch [21.59 millimetres (approximately)⁴].

These coins carry on the obverse a bust to right and on the reverse the figure of a man on a horse moving to right and being crowned with a wreath by a winged Nike flying from behind. One and the same monogram occurs on the obverse of both of them (Figs. 1 and 2).

The obverse legends in the Kharoshthī script are

effaced to a great extent. Still a careful examination of the first coin indicates a part of the inscription, if read from inside, can be deciphered as (IV) *Padada(?)ka(?) Pa(?)ra(?)ta(?)sa(?)*...⁵ (Fig. 13). A part of the obverse inscription of the second piece can be read from inside as (VI) *Rayasa [raña (?)]* (I) *Padadaka Parata(sa)*⁶ (Fig. 15).

Traces of Greek letters can be noticed on the reverse of each piece. These can be read on the first as (VIII) *TYRO* (VII) *KOSS* (Fig. 14) and on the other as (IX) *TY (?)* (VII) *KOSSAN* (Fig. 16).

The reverse device of these pieces has striking similarity with that of the tetradrachms of the Kushāṇa ruler Miaoś, which also shows a male on a horse moving to right and being crowned with a wreath by a winged Nike flying from behind⁷ (Fig. 9). The Greek inscription on these coins of Miaoś may be transcribed as *TYRANNOYNTOS MIAOY* (or *(H)ERAIOY ?*) *SANAB KOS-SANOY*⁸ (Fig. 17). As parts of the same legend can be traced on the pieces in question, it may be inferred that they were influenced by the coinage of Miaoś.

The bust on the obverse is comparable with that on several coins of the Indo-Greek king Hermaeus,⁹ and particularly with that on the species referring to him and also to the Kushāṇa ruler Kujula¹⁰ (Fig. 10). The Kushāṇa monarch probably struck these pieces long after the end of the reign of Hermaeus.¹¹ It is not impossible that, like the Miaoś coinage, issues of Hermaeus or their imitations, influenced the species in question.

Such an inference naturally suggests that these coins were minted during or after the rule of Miaoś, and perhaps also of Hermaeus and of Kujula. The

earliest possible date for Hermaeus can be placed as early as in the closing decades of the 2nd century B.C.,¹² though he might have continued to rule to sometime in the following century.¹³ The lunate *sigma* and square *omicron*, appearing on coins of Miaoos, can be noticed also on Scytho-Parthian coins of the 1st century B.C. and after.¹⁴ Kujula probably did not end his rule before the 1st century A.D.¹⁵ The clumsy forms of the Kharoshthī letters on the pieces concerned are comparable with those of the letters of the same script occurring on a number of Scytho-Parthian coins of North-Western India and its borderlands datable to the 1st century A.D.¹⁶ These considerations tend to ascribe the coins in question to the 1st century A.D.

These pieces bear Kharoshthī and Greek letters, and their weights indicate that they were struck on the weight standard of the so-called Indo-Greek tetradrachms.¹⁷ These features are known to have simultaneously characterised the coinages to the south, south-east and south-west of the Hindu-Kush, including North-Western India, Arachosia and the land of the Paropamisadae, from sometime of the 2nd century B.C. to the date of the monetary reform effected by the Kushāṇa emperor Vīma Kadphises sometime in the 1st century A.D.¹⁸

Thus the coins under discussion seem to have been minted in c. 1st century A.D. in an area in North-Western India or its borderlands to the south of the Hindu-Kush. This inference is supported by the evidence of the provenances of their prototypes. A vast number of coins bearing the name of Hermaeus have been discovered in the country of the Paropamisadae (particularly in the Kabul area and thereabouts) in

Eastern Afghanistan and also in the Rawalpindi district and in the Peshawar-Charsada area.¹⁹ Similarly, though the mint or mints of Miaos can be located in North-Eastern Afghanistan, to the north of the Hindu-Kush (Appendix I), some of his pieces have been discovered in localities to the south of that mountain and also in North-Western India²⁰ (Appendix I). These might have come to the south of the Hindu-Kush by way of trade.

That this happened regularly for a certain period is suggested by the testimony of a coin-device of Gondophares I, a Scytho-Parthian ruler of North-Western India, Arachosia and Seistan for some time in the first half of the 1st century A.D.²¹ Gondophares I's type in question shows a man on horse, moving to left, being crowned with a wreath by a winged Nike flying from behind²² (Fig. 11). It is impossible to fail to notice the similarity between the coin-devices of Gondophares I and Miaos, even though there is a little discrepancy between the directions of walking of their horses (Figs. 9 and 11). The similarity is indeed sufficient to warrant for a contact between the coinages of these rulers. Gondophares I did not have under him any region to the north of the Hindu-Kush, where Miaos might have minted his coins earlier than the period of Gondophares I.²³ This means that the latter ruler came across the Miaos coins in an area or areas to the south of that mountain, where they could have come from outside as media of commercial exchange and could have remained in circulation up to his own times.

In the same way the copper coins in question might have been influenced by the Miaos coinage. These

pieces, as their Kharoshthī inscriptions reveal, were struck by a person called Padadaka, who was also described as a Parata.

A variant of the name *Parata* can be traced on the reverse of a silver coin, found in the Jhelum district and later included in the collection of Mr. W. S. Talbot.²⁴ It is now in the British Museum. It weighs 24.7 grains (1.597 grammes) and measures .45 inch (11.43 milimetres).²⁵ On the obverse appears a bust having long hair and wearing a (diademed) fillet around the head with its loose ends flowing behind. A *svastika* symbol occurs on the reverse (Fig. 3). The same side also bears a Kharoshthī inscription. E. J. Rapson tried to read it as [.....*sa puṭha*] *nasa Bagapharnapu* [tra.....].²⁶ A close examination of the coin, however, reveals that the legend should better be deciphered as (XI) *Bagapharnaputrasa Parata* (or *da*)(*ra**)(?)*jasa Puḍenasa* (Fig. 18). This reading means “(coin) of Puḍena, the son of Bagapharna and the king of the Paratas (or Paradas)”. Palaeographically this legend may be dated to the period of later Kharoshthī inscriptions of North-Western India (i.e., 1st-3rd or 4th or 5th century A.D.).²⁷

In this connection we may refer to another silver coin, found in the Jhelum district. It was later included in the collection of Mr. Longworth Dames.²⁸ Its weight is 37.6 grains and measurement .6 inch.²⁹ The obverse displays a bearded and diademed bust to right, having long hair hanging down to the shoulders. *Svastika* can be noticed on the reverse (Fig. 4). E. J. Rapson deciphered a part of the Kharoshthī inscription on the reverse as [..... *ṭha*] *nasa Bagapharnapu* [.....].³⁰ The reading (*Ba*)*gapharnapu* may be sub-

stantially correct, though the letters supposed to represent *Ba*, *rna* and *pu* are not very clear. What appeared to E. J. Rapson as *tha*, must be transcribed as *ḍhra* or *ḍhre*. Between *pu* and *ḍhra* (or *ḍhre*) one can notice *tra*, *sa* and *pu*. Immediately after *ḍhra* or *ḍhre* occurs *na* and *sa*. Hence the legend may be read as (VII) (*Ba*)*gapha* (or *phi*)(*rnapu*)*trasa Puḍhra* (or *ḍhre*)*nasa*(Fig. 19).

On the analogy of occasional use of apparently otiose subscript *r* in Kharoshthī inscriptions on coins and in some other documents of North-Western India and its borderlands,³¹ the second word of the coin-legend may be considered to refer to the name *Puḍhana* or *Puḍhena*. It may be a variant or corruption of the name *Puḍena*, occurring on one of the coins noticed above. Again, the identity between the persons concerned is suggested by the similarity between the names of their fathers.

The obverse device of the coin in question betrays influence of the mode of representation of the ruler's head wearing a helmet, with its forepart having the shape of a lion's head, which can be noticed on coins of the Sasanian ruler Hormizd I Kushānshāh³² (Fig. 12). As the series of species issued by Hormizd I as Kushānshāh began in c. A.D. 256 or rather in or shortly after c. A.D. 262,³³ our coin may be dated in or after the latter year. At the same time it should be placed before the Kharoshthī script went out of use in North-Western India in the 3rd or 4th or 5th century A.D.³⁴

In the collection of Mr. M. Longworth Dames there were eleven other silver coins carrying identical reverse type and similar obverse device and apparently the same inscription.³⁵

The coins of group II then suggest the rule of a *Parata* king Puḍena (or Puḍhana or Puḍhena) in the Jhelum district in the 3rd or 4th (or 5th) century A.D.

Only Brāhmī inscription can be noticed on a group of related coins. They carry on the reverse the same *svastika* symbol and on the obverse a bust to right, having beard and long hair hanging down the shoulders and wearing a diademed fillet around the head (the loose ends of which hang behind). The bust is encircled by a marginal border of dots.

One such piece, minted in silver, is now in Mr. H. Shortt's collection (Fig. 5). Its reverse legend in the Brāhmī script can be read as (II) *Yasamā* (or *mī*)-*raputrasa Paratarāja Hvara* (or *va* or *ha*) *mirasa* (Fig. 20). The inscription can be translated as "(coin) of Hvavamira, the son of Yasamāra and the Parata king."

The readable portion of the Brāhmī legend on a silver coin in the G. B. Bleazeby collection (Fig. 6) runs as.....(VII) (*putas*)*sa Paratarajasa Palasara(sa*)*³⁶ (Fig. 21). The inscription refers to Palasara, the (son of some body and) Parata king. This piece weighs 28 grains and measures .5 inch.³⁷

A similar silver coin, once in possession of Mr. J. P. Rawlins, is now in the British Museum (Fig. 7). Its weight is 45.5 grains [(2.944 grammes) (approximately)], and the measurement is .55 inch (13.97 millimetres).³⁸ V. A. Smith read the Brāhmī inscription on the reverse as *Para(ma)rāja Ajunasa Hilavoraputrasa*.³⁹ To E. J. Rapson the legend appeared as *Para(ma)rājñā ra* (? or *ha* ?) *sa.....raputasa*.⁴⁰ The first two letters are certainly *Pa* and *ra*. The next one is *ta* and not *ma*. *Ta* is followed by *rā* and another indistinct letter. Then we can notice *a*, *ju* and *na* and perhaps also *sa*.

The next two letters are *hi* and *la*. The latter is followed by *jā* or *mā*, but not by *vo*. After *jā* or *mā* occur *pu*, *ta* and *sa*. If we now consider the indistinct letter to be *ja* and think that the legend begins with the name of the father of the issuer, it can be read as (VII) *Hilamā* (or *jā*)*raputasa Paratarā(ja*) Ajuna(sa)* (Fig. 22).

The Brāhmī inscription on another silver coin, published by E. J. Rapson, is not quite legible.⁴¹ Only a part of it can be doubtfully read as.....(XI) *Mi(?)to(?)lā* [or *pā(?)* or *ha(?)*] *pa*(or *sa*) (Fig. 23). The obverse and reverse types, showing respectively a bust to right and the *svastika* symbol (Fig. 8), may associate this piece with the above coins with Brāhmī legends.

V. A. Smith assigned the coin of Ajuna to the Saurāshṭra (Western Satrapal) series.⁴² But there is no definite evidence of connection between them.⁴³ On the other hand, the obverse and reverse types and the name *Parata* on the coins of the third group relate them to the Parata coins of North-Western India. In fact, the coins of Ajuna and Palasara and also the piece with fragmentary Brāhmī legend have been discovered in the Jhelum district.⁴⁴ Hence the coins with the Brāhmī legends should be attributed to the Jhelum district.

The palaeography of the above Brāhmī inscriptions is comparable with those of the coins of the Western Satraps of 3rd or 4th century A.D.⁴⁵ The forms of *a* and *na* on the piece of Ajuna have similarity with those of the same letters in certain records of the Gupta period.⁴⁶

The absence of the Kharoshthī script from these coins may perhaps indicate that they were struck after it fell into disuse in the Jhelum area. So these should

be dated after the second group of coins belonging to the same region and carrying only Kharoshthī legends. Such a hypothesis shall, in the light of our dating of the second group, place the third group in the latter half of the 3rd century A.D. or after. On the other hand, as noted above, palaeographically the coins with the Brāhmī legends may not be ascribed to any period after the 4th century A.D. or at least after the Gupta age (c. A.D. 319/20 - c. A.D. 550 or 569-70).⁴⁷

B

Thus the palaeographic and certain other features of the coins date the three groups, into which they are divided on the basis of the scripts of their legends, to different periods. The pieces of the first group were minted in c. 1st century A.D. somewhere in the north-western area of the Indian subcontinent or in its borderlands to the south of the Hindu-Kush. The second and the third groups may be attributed to the Jhelum district. The second group can be ascribed to the later half of the 3rd or the 4th (or 5th) century A.D. The coins of the third group were probably minted after those of the second.

We have noted above that the traces of the Greek letters, found on the coins of the first group, are copies of parts of the inscription on the tetradrachms of Miaoś (see also Appendix I). The Kharoshthī inscriptions on the pieces of this as well as of the second group and the Brāhmī legends on those of the third group are written in Prakrit. However, a few of the personal names occurring in these inscriptions betray non-Indian influence. The name *Bagapharna* is surely of

Iranian origin, while the expression *Hvaramira* indicates influence from the same direction.⁴⁸ The term *Ajuna* (*Arjuna*), denoting one of the issuers, is, however, purely Indian.

The word common to the coin legends of all the three groups is *Parata*, of which *Parada* is a recognisable variant (see Chapter III). In fact, this name has connected all the coins of these groups with one another and has helped them to form a definite series. From the contexts of its uses the expression seems to refer to a tribe or family.

The obverse device (an equestrian male being crowned by a winged Nike flying from behind) of the first group is, as pointed out above, a copy of that of the tetradrachms of Miaois. The idea of representing Nike as flying as well as crowning the king's head may have been borrowed from some products of the Arsacid mints.⁴⁹ We have also noted above that the delineation of the upper part of a male on the reverse was probably inspired by the bust on the pieces bearing the names of Hermaeus and Kujula (see Appendix II). The busts on the species of the second and the third groups, excepting the one influenced by the coinage of Hormizd I Kushānshāh, may be compared with those having long hair and diademed fillet noticeable on several Indo-Parthian and Arsacid coins.⁵⁰ The *svastika* symbol occurs on many early Indian objects,⁵¹ including coins.⁵² As in the cases of the issues of the second and the third groups, it constitutes the full device of one side of some pieces attributed to the Hyderabad area.⁵³

From the standpoint of metrology, the coins of the Paratas may be compared with those of the Indo-

Greeks and Scytho-Parthians, issued for circulation in North-Western India and its borderlands to the south, south-west and south-east of the Hindu-Kush.⁵⁴ The silver coinage of this currency system became very much debased in the reign of Azes II (first half of the 1st century A.D.).⁵⁵

Available epigraphic data from Taxila suggest that at least in the age of Strategos Áspavarman, identified with the general of the same name who served under Azes II and Gondophares I in the first half of the 1st century A.D.,⁵⁶ at least three coin denominations were known in North-Western India. These were *sa(tera)*, i.e., *stateros* or *stater*, *dra(mma)*, i.e., *drakhme* or *drachma* or *drachm*, and *o(bol)os* or *obol*.⁵⁷

The known coins of this period can themselves be divided into a few categories on the basis of weight. The pieces which generally weigh between 33 or 34 and 39 grains⁵⁸ may be related to the standard of the Indo-Greek silver coins weighing generally between 35 and 40 grains.⁵⁹ The drachms with the devices of Menander and Apollodotus, mentioned by the *Periplus of the Erythraean Sea*,⁶⁰ may refer to the pieces struck on this standard, there being no known piece bearing the name of Menander or Apollodotus struck definitely on the standard of Attic drachms (weighing about 66 or 67.2 or 67.5 grains). Numerous coins of the Indo-Greeks and Scytho-Parthians appear to have been intended to weigh four times more than the above drachm standard. Hence their theoretical weight may have been as much as (40 x 4) 160 grains, though the known specimens generally weigh somewhat less than that.⁶¹ The theoretical weight may have been even a few grains higher than

160 grains, as the heaviest among the known drachms of this weight system might have suffered loss of weight through constant use.⁶² These are generally called tetradrachms.⁶³ It may, however, be pointed out that the standard weight of these so-called tetradrachms, which was 160 grains or even more, can be very closely compared with that of a class of silver staters of the Achaemenid empire, which was 172.90 grains.⁶⁴ This Persian weight standard might have been popular or at least well-known in North-Western India and its borderlands, parts of which had been under the Achaemenids for some time before the advent of the Indo-Greeks.⁶⁵ Hence it is not unlikely that the Indo-Greeks adopted this weight standard for their coins meant for circulation to the south, south-west and south-east of the Hindu-Kush. A quarter of this stater began to be called drachm. It was also not impossible for them to adopt for their new tetradrachms a standard close to that of a Persian silver stater. As coins of the latter standard was at least well-known in North-Western India, the new tetradrachm was soon named as stater, though new drachm continued to be known only as drachm.⁶⁶ At least any of these two hypotheses will explain the references to stater, along with drachm, in three Taxilan inscriptions of the Scytho-Parthian period.⁶⁷ These staters, J. H. Marshall has shown, cannot be identified with Attic silver staters, each of which was equivalent to two drachms.⁶⁸

It appears that the Indo-Greeks introduced a sort of a Hellenic-Persian standard in North-Western India.⁶⁹ This was probably necessary partly to meet the local demand to have a coinage based on a known

standard,⁷⁰ and partly to adjust the intrinsic value of silver coins of Bactria with that of the silver species in North-Western India, where that metal might have been dearer in relation to gold than in the area to the north of the Hindu-Kush.⁷¹

Demetrius (I ?), Eucratides (I ?) and Heliocles were among the first kings to adopt the new weight-system.⁷² Coins were struck on this standard by several Indo-Greek rulers to the south of the Hindu-Kush in addition to silver coins of Attic standard minted to the north of that mountain.⁷³ The new metrology was also followed by many Indo-Scythian and Indo-Parthian rulers.⁷⁴

With the debasement of the silver coinage by the time of Azes II (first half of the 1st century A.D.), the names for different denominations of silver coinage might well have begun to be applied to coins of baser metal.⁷⁵ If this was the case, the two copper coins of the Paratas, which weigh 150 and 150.3 grains and which seem to have been minted somewhere in North-Western India or its borderlands in the 1st century A.D., can be called (copper) staters. Otherwise, these may be considered to have followed some weight standard for copper coins ultimately based on that of the Indo-Greek or earlier copper pieces.

A study of the weight of the silver coins of the Paratas (weighing 24.7, 37.6, 28, 45.5 grains, etc.), relates these to the above drachm standard. These coins have been found in North-Western India, where such a weight system was once prevalent. No doubt, the dates of these coins may have to be placed long after the end of the Scytho-Parthian age. Nevertheless, the possibility of the continuity of this weight

standard in certain areas in a much later period is suggested by the well-known fact that the silver coinages of the Satraps of Western India and the Guptas were based on the above mentioned drachm standard.

The specific gravity of the first of the two copper coins is 8.00 and that of the second is 8.14. An examination of the silver piece of Puḍena, once in W. Talbot's collection and now in the British Museum, shows its specific gravity as 8.42. 9.90 is the specific gravity of the silver piece of Ajuna, once in the possession of J. P. Rawlins and later included in the British Museum cabinet. These data and similar scrutiny of other silver coins suggest that the percentage of content of that metal in them is poor.⁷⁶

Parts of the marginal areas of one side of certain Parata silver coins are raised or rather concave and are not impressed with the device concerned. The corresponding parts on the other side of these pieces are convex and also without any figure or inscription. This feature could have been the result of striking the blanks hastily with upper dies, in the process of which parts of the device came out of the flan and consequently parts of the blank remained unimpressed. Hence it appears that the coins concerned were die-struck and not cast.

Unfortunately, the details of the working of a Parata mint is not known. However, it may be pointed out that purely manually operated system of manufacturing double die-struck coins was not likely to vary basically or completely from one age or country to another.⁷⁷ Hence a rough idea of the minting of Parata coins may be formed on the basis of our knowledge of the methods (or the varieties of the method)

of producing coins of this type as prevalent in different ages and countries prior to the introduction of the use of non-human or mechanical force.

The molten metal for 'blanks' could have been mixed with a prescribed quantity of baser materials.⁷⁸ Then the required amounts of the metal or mixed metal were probably poured into circular shaped moulds of regulated sizes.⁷⁹ Alternatively, the molten metal could have been first cast into sheets or plates of required thickness and then the latter could have been cut into round pieces of the size of the coined money.⁸⁰ The weight of the blanks might have been then checked and adjusted according to the specified standard.⁸¹

Negative impressions of obverse and reverse types (and inscriptions) could have been engraved, perhaps following an original design, on two separate 'dies' of soft steel or bronze prepared by cutting into slices a round metal bar (of steel or bronze) cast in mould.⁸² It would, however, be more practicable to prepare a positive in wax and then to cover the model or design by molten metal. The device was now transferred into negative and impressed on the gradually hardened metal.⁸³ Impressions in relief on Parata coins may suggest that devices in 'dies' were hollowed out.

These 'intaglio dies' were probably then hardened by heating (and then by cooling in water).⁸⁴ Later one of the dies was fixed on or embedded in an anvil. The other die was attached to (or engraved on ?) a (rhomboid or an oblong shaped ?) punch.⁸⁵

Each metal 'blank' was heated before striking (if it had been cast in circular shaped mould), or at least it was slightly softened by annealing to make it ready to receive the required impressions.⁸⁶ It was then set

on the die fixed on the anvil, and the die-end of the punch was placed on the slightly softened metal blank.⁸⁷

The fact that reverse types on some Parata coins are found partly out of flan does not at least indicate a regular use of any mechanical instrument (like a hinge connecting the two dies ?) to keep the lower die in proper place during the time of minting.⁸⁸

The actual minting seems to have been done with the help of a hammer. After placing the die-end of the punch on the slightly softened blank already set on the anvil die, the other end of the punch was struck with the hammer. As a result both sides of the blank received the required impressions and was thereby transformed into a coin.⁸⁹

A close examination of the shape of the Parata pieces reveals that at least a few of them were not exactly circular in shape, even though they were all intended to be so. In fact, the very method of production made it difficult for the true circle to be obtained, since there was nothing to stop the flan from spreading under the blow.⁹⁰

The alignment of the reverse type of the copper pieces in relation to the obverse device, set upright, seems to be irregular. The peculiar form of the *svastika* symbol, which constitutes the reverse device of the silver coins, makes it difficult to ascertain the lower portion of the type. If, however, we consider the section where the reverse legend on the majority of the coins commences as in the lower half of the die, then the reverse type will not appear to be in the same alignment as that of the upright obverse.

C

The above study of the coins in question shows that a tribe, race or family called Parata or Parada minted die-struck coins in an area in North-Western India or its borderlands to the south of the Hindu-Kush in the 1st century A.D. They also minted coins in the Jhelum district in certain periods in the second half of the 3rd century A.D. and/or after. It is difficult not to recognise the name of this tribe or family in that of Paratas, also called the Pāradas, mentioned as a tribe or people in a number of early Indian treatises including the *Mahābhārata*, the *Harivaṃśa*, the *Manu-smṛiti*, the *Bṛihat-saṃhitā*, etc. The references to this people or tribe occurs also in several Greek, Latin and other non-Indian sources. The history of the Paratas can now be reconstructed on the basis of these data. But before making such an attempt, we should furnish a catalogue of their coins on the basis of the discussion in this chapter.

NOTES

1. NC, 1890, pl. XII, no. 3; 1888, pl. III, no. 13.
2. According to an information supplied by Mr. G. K. Jenkins of the British Museum (in his letter to the author on 20.12.66), this coin weighs 10.405 grammes.
3. Mr. G. K. Jenkins has stated in his letter to the author on 20.12.66 that the size of this piece is 22 milimetres.
4. Mr. G. K. Jenkins informs in his letter to the author dated 20.12.66 that this coin measures 22 milimetres.
5. The letter immediately before *Pa* of *Padadaka* (?) can be deciphered as *pa* (if read from outside) and the one preceding that as *ña* (if read from inside).
6. The letter *ra* of *rayasa* is inscribed slantingly. Such slanting (or mishappened?) forms of letters may be noticed on several Indo-Parthian coins. For an example, see the form of the letter *de* on coin no. 38 of pl. XV of *PMC*, vol. I.
7. *CCGSK*, pl. XXIV, no. 7.
8. *Ibid.*
9. See *PMC*, vol. I, pl. XV, no. 666; *CCGSK*, pl. XV, no. 6; etc.
10. See *CCGSK*, pl. XXV, nos. 1-3; *PMC*, vol. I, pl. XVII, no. 8; *NC*, 1892, pl. IV, no. 3; etc.
11. B. N. Mukherjee, *The Kushāṇa Genealogy* (*Studies in Kushāṇa Genealogy and Chronology*, vol. I), pp. 93-95, n. 26.
12. *ASSIPH*, p. 75.
13. *Ibid.*
14. *PMC*, vol. I, pl. XIV, no. 397; pl. XII, no. 292; *ASSIPH*, pp. 82 f and 167 f.
15. *ASSIPH*, pp. 186-188.
16. *PMC*, vol. I, pl. XV, nos. 59 f; *ASSIPH*, pp. 98 f.
17. For information on metrology of Indo-Greek coins, see *NC*, 1923, p. 298; K. A. Nilakanta Sastri (editor), *A Comprehensive History of India*, vol. II—*The Mauryas and the Śātavāhanas*, c. 326 B.C.-A.D. 300, pp. 792 f; etc. See also below n. 69.
18. *JNSI*, 1960, vol. XXII, pp. 63 f.; K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, *op. cit.*, pp. 794 f.
19. *NC*, 1943, pp. 52-59; *Taxila*, vol. II, p. 764.
20. *Monthly Bulletin of the Asiatic Society*, December, 1967, vol. II, no. 11, pp. 5-6.
21. *ASSIPH*, pp. 98f.
22. *PMC*, vol. I, pl. XV, no. 43.

23. *ASSIPH*, p. 185; B. N. Mukherjee, *op. cit.*, pp. 44-45 and 123.
 24. *JRAS*, 1905, pp. 790-791; pl. I, no. 7.
 25. *Ibid.*, p. 790.
 26. *Ibid.*, p. 791.
 27. Compare Fig. 18 with *CII*, vol. II, pt. I, pl. XXII, XXIII and XXVI f. See also below n. 34.
 28. *JRAS*, 1905, p. 790; pl. I, no. 6.
 29. *Ibid.*, p. 790.
 30. *Ibid.*
 31. *CII*, vol. II, pt. I, pp. 155, 166 and 170; *PMC*, vol. I, p. 156. Note the forms *švedravarma* for *švedavarma*, *Guḍrana* for *Guḍana*, etc. However, see also *CII*, vol. II, pt. I, p. cvi.
 32. E. Herzfeld, *Kushano-Sasanian Coins*, *MASI*, no. 38, pl. II, no. 15 b; *JNSI*, 1956, vol. XVIII, pt. I, p. 28 and pl. I, nos. 2-3.
 33. The Kushāno-Sasanian coins issued by Hormizd I Kushānshāh, son of the Sasanian emperor Shāpūr I, were surely minted after the annexation of Kushānshahr to the Sasanian empire. The exact date of the beginning of this series of coins is, however, not known. E. Herzfeld was inclined to place the date sometime after A.D. 252 or rather in c. A.D. 256. (E. Herzfeld, *op. cit.*, pp. 33 and 43).
- There can, however, be serious objections against such a theory. The Naqsh-i-Rustam inscription of Shāpūr I includes a part of Kushānshahr in a list of provinces of the empire. But it does not speak of a Kushānshāh in the sections where it refers to the establishment of "fires" and to the "making of sacrifices" mainly in honour of different members of the royal family, among whom were rulers of several provinces (*Syria*, 1958, pp. 316-330 and 336). Nevertheless, the epigraph concerned mentions in these sections the name of Hormizdardashīr, the son of the emperor (*ibid.*, 1958, pp. 317 and 319; II. 40-41 and 48 of the Greek, Parthian and Pahlavi versions of the epigraph). Apparently Hormizdardashīr, son of Shāpūr I, was the same as Hormizd I, son of Shāpūr, who initiated the series of Kushāno-Sasanian gold coins. In Shāpūr's record he is described as the "Great King of Armenia" (*ibid.*) and not as "the King of Kushān(shahr)".

It appears that Hormizd I had not yet begun to rule as Kushānshāh when the draft of the Naqsh-i-Rustam inscription

was drawn. The required date has been placed in c. A.D. 262 (*Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, 1937-39, vol. IX, p. 845). Hence Hormizd I's rule in Kushānshahr probably did not begin before c. A.D. 262. On the other hand, he ceased to be the governor of that province before or by sometime of A.D. 272 or 273, when his father Shāpūr I died and he succeeded him on the imperial throne.

These considerations suggest that Hormizd I could not have struck Kushāno-Sasanian coins before c. A.D. 262 or after c. A.D. 272 or 273. So the series probably began sometime in or after A.D. 262 and before c. A.D. 272 or 273.

34. *CH*, vol. II, pt. I, p. XIII. If the date of the Skārah Dherī image inscription of the year 399 is referred to the so-called Old Śaka Era, which was probably reckoned from about the second half of the 2nd century B.C. (*ASSIPH*, p. 189), then the icon might have been inscribed in the 3rd century A.D. This inscription is generally included among the latest Kharoshīhī epigraphs in the Indian subcontinent.

35. *JRAS*, 1905, p. 790.

36. *Ibid.*, pl. I, no. 4.

37. *Ibid.*, p. 789.

38. *Ibid.*, pp. 789-790; *JASB*, 1897, p. 9; pl. I, no. XIV.

39. *JASB*, 1897, p. 9.

40. *JRAS*, 1905, p. 790.

41. *Ibid.*, pl. I, no. 5, p. 789.

42. *JASB*, pp. 9-10.

43. See below no. 44.

44. *JRAS*, 1905, p. 789. V. A. Smith thought that the Pārādā river mentioned in a Nasik inscription of the time of the Kshaharāta ruler Nahapāna should be identified with the Pardi or Par river in Surat. He concluded apparently from this identification that the Pārata or Pārada country must have been the Surat district to the north of Aparānta (*JRAS*, 1909, p. 899 and f.n. 2). There is, however, no definite evidence to prove that the river concerned was connected with the name of the Parata (Pārata) people. Even if one accepts the possibility of such a connection, the coin concerned displaying bust and *svastika* need not necessarily be attributed to the area of the Surat district, when other coins of the Paratas with similar devices can be convincingly assigned to the region of the Jhelum district.

45. *CCADWK*, pll. XIII-XV.

46. G. Bühler, *Indische Paläographie, Grundriss der Indo-Arischen Philologie und Altertumskunde*, pl. IV, cols. VI and IX.

47. R. C. Majumdar (editor), *The Classical Age*, pp. 6 and 44.

48. C. Bartholomae, *Altiranisches Wörterbuch*, cols. 1845-1846.

49. W. Wroth, *A Catalogue of the Greek Coins in the British Museum, Catalogue of the Coins of Parthia*, pl. XXIII, nos. 12 and 14; pl. XXIV, nos. 2 and 3. Nike on Bactrian Greek or Indo-Greek coins is not shown as flying (A. N. Lahiri, *Corpus of Indo-Greek Coins*, p. 208).

50. *PMC*, vol. I, pl. XVI, nos. 72 and 76; *CCGSK*, pl. XXIII, nos. 8, 9 and 11; W. Wroth, *op. cit.*, pl. XVIII, no. 8; pl. XXXI, nos. 5 and 12; etc., etc.

51. *Journal of the Behar and Orissa Research Society*, 1917, vol. III, pl. I facing p. 468; A. Stein, *An Archaeological Tour in Waziristan and Northern Baluchistan*, *MASI*, no. 37, fig. 28; etc.

52. *CCADWK*, pl. I, no. 9, pl. III, no. 47; J. Allan, *A Catalogue of the Indian Coins in the British Museum, Catalogue of the Coins of Ancient India*, pp. 304 and 308; etc.

53. A. K. Narain and G. K. Jenkins, *The Coin-Types of the Śaka-Pahlava Kings of India*, *Numismatic Notes and Monographs*, no. 4, p. 44. Y. V. Mirashi's interpretations of the legends on these coins are different from those of D. C. Sircar.

54. See above n. 17.

55. *JNSI*, 1960, vol. XXII, p. 69.

56. *ASSIPH*, pp. 87-88, and 90-91; *PMC*, vol. I, pp. 130 and 150. Strategos Aśpavarman struck some coins with king Azes II and some with king Gondophares I. So he served both, one after the other (*ASSIPH*, p. 88).

57. The name of Strategos Aśpavarman, who is known to have served Azes II and Gondophares I, may be recognised in the Kharoshthī inscription *Aśpavarmasa Strategasa sa 10(+) 1 dra 2(.)o2* on a silver saucer unearthed at the site of the Scytho-Parthian city of Sirkap in Taxila (*Taxila*, vol. II, 613). Another silver plate, found in a hoard at Sirkap, is inscribed as *Mumjī-kṛitas(y)a sa (or s(y)a ?) 20 dra 1 (ibid., p. 613; CII, vol. II, pt. I, p. 98)*. The same hoard has also yielded a silver dish carrying the inscription *Minjūkṛitasa sa 20 (+) 10 dha 2 (Taxila, vol. II, p. 612)*. The letters *sa*, *dra* (or *dha*) and *o* are obviously abbreviations respectively of *satara*, i.e., *stater*, *dramma*.

(or *dharama* < *dhrama* < *drama* < *dramma*), i.e., *drachm*, and *obol* (*ibid.*, p. 613). It appears that the first part of each inscription refers to the owner or donor of the object concerned and the second records its weight or price.

There are reasons to believe that these figures denote price and not weight (see below n. 67).

For J. Allan's hypothesis that the figures indicate weight and for J. Marshall's arguments against it, see *Taxila*, vol. II, p. 609, f.n. 2. As J. Marshall has pointed out, (*ibid.*, p. 610), satras or staters, mentioned in these inscriptions, cannot be Attic silver staters (each having the value of 2 drachms) (*ibid.*, pp. 609-610. See also M. Cary *et al.*, *The Oxford Classical Dictionary* (1961), p. 208; B. V. Head, *Historia Numorum, A Manual of Greek Numismatics* (reprint, 1963), pp. XLIV and 395). Had they been so, the price of the first ware should have been written as 12 staters (and 2 oboli) and not as 11 staters, 2 drachms (and 2 oboli), and that of the third as 31 staters instead of 30 staters (and) 2 drachms. It should also be noted here that these staters could not have been gold staters, as no such pieces of the period of Aśpavarman is known to have been existed.

It appears that in the Scytho-Parthian period there were at least three coin denominations known in the north-western part of the Indian subcontinent. These were *obol*, *drachm* and *stater*, the exact values of which were different from the Attic ones.

58. *PMC*, vol. I, pp. 98f, especially pp. 117, 122, 137, 142, 151, and 159; *CCGSK*, pp. 67f, especially pp. 67, 76, 77, 78, 103, etc. The exceptionally low weight (29, 32 or 33 grains) of a few pieces (*CCGSK*, pp. 76-78, etc.) may have been due to wear and tear through constant use.

59. *PMC*, vol. I, pp. 40, 42, 56, 59, 62, etc.; *CCGSK*, pp. 34f and 44f.

60. *Periplus Tes Erythras Thalasses*, sec. 47.

61. *PMC*, vol. I, pp. 98f.

62. It is well-known that the coins of the Western Satraps followed this metrology. A coin of one of these rulers, whose name was Rudradāman, was probably referred to in the *Sārattha-dīpanī-vinaya-ṭīkā* as *Rudradāmaka*. It is "worth three parts" (i.e., equal to three-fourth of the weight) of a *Nīla Kahāpaṇa* (H. Cordrington, *Ceylon Coins*, p. 179). The theoretical weight of a *Kahāpaṇa* or *Kārshāpaṇa* was 32 *ratīs* or (taking like

A. Cunningham, one *rati* as equal to 1.8 grains) 57.6 grains. Hence the theoretical weight of the coins of Rudradāman (?) was about $(57.6 \div \frac{3}{4})$ 43.2 grains. This indicates that the theoretical weight of the tetradrachms struck on this standard might have been as high as about (43.2×4) 172.8 grains.

63. *Zeitschrift für Numismatik*, 1879, vol. VI, pp. 276 f; *JNSI*, 1960, vol. XXII, pp. 68-69.

64. B. V. Head, *op. cit.*, p. XL.

65. E. J. Rapson (editor), *The Cambridge History of India*, vol. I—*Ancient India*, pp. 334 f. The epigraphic evidence of the reign of Darius I leaves no room to doubt the occupation of a part of North-Western India by the Achaemenids.

66. An explanation for referring to a coin equal to the value of a quarter of the stater in question as *drachm* may be found in the fact that in certain sources the name *stater* was applied to tetradrachms. For references see H. G. Liddel and R. Scott, *A Greek-English Lexicon* (reprint, 1961), p. 1634. It should also be noted that the word *stater* (*stateros*) may literally mean "standard coin" (*ibid.*).

67. The theoretical weights of the relevant Attic silver stater (equivalent of two drachms) (see above n. 57) (132 or 134.4 or 135 grains, etc.), obol (11 or 11.2 or 11.25 grains), and Persian silver stater (172.90 grains) (*CCGSK*, pp. LXVII and LXIX; A. Cunningham, *Coins of the Indo-Scythians* (reprint), p. 19; B. V. Head, *op. cit.*, p. XL and 366-376; etc.) suggest that if the figure in the three Taxilan epigraphs were intended to denote weight, then the silver saucer owned or donated by Aśpavarman, the inscription on which refers to 11 staters, 2 drachms and 2 oboli, should not have been heavier than $[11 \times 135 =] 1485 + (2 \times 67.5 =) 135 + (2 \times 11.25 =) 22.50]$ 1642.50 or $[(11 \times 172.90 =) 1901.90 + (2 \times 67.5 =) 135 + (2 \times 11.25 =) 22.50 =]$ 2059.40 grains. The silver ware, however, actually weighs 2603.7 grains. One may, no doubt, take each of the stater referred to in Aśpavarman's record as equivalent of four drachms (see above n. 66), and can argue that the silver saucer could have been as heavy as $[(11 \times 270 =) 2970 + (2 \times 67.5 =) 135 + (2 \times 11.25 =) 22.50 =]$ 3127.50 grains. Such an argument, however, cannot explain the loss of so much metal as the silver ware actually weighs only 2603.7 grains and was apparently in a good state of preservation when it was unearthed at Taxila. This problem remains unsolved even if the weight of the saucer is calculated after assigning the minimum possible weight to a

relevant Attic drachm or obol. It, therefore, seems that the figures on the silver wares in question indicate price and not weight.

68. *Taxila*, vol. II, pp. 609-610. See also above n. 57.

69. Scholars have furnished various explanations for the introduction of the new weight system in the area to the south, south-west and south-east of the Hindu-Kush during the Indo-Greek period. A. Cunningham thought that this had been due to a change in the ratio between the values of gold and silver from 1 : 10 to 1 : 11, caused either by a rise in the value of gold or by a fall in that of silver (A. Cunningham, *Coins of the Indo-Scythians* (reprint), p. 19). P. Gardner observed that "this new standard appears to be identical with that called by metrologists the Persian, . . . notably the sigli." As in the Persian (Achaeminid) standard "the unit weighs 84.86" grains, Gardner called the heavier Indo-Greek pieces, "which weigh as a maximum 160 grains, didrachms; and the smaller pieces, which weigh up to 40 grains, hemidrachms" (*CCGSK*, p. LXVIII). B. V. Head remarked that the new standard might have been identical with the "the old Persic standard, somewhat reduced" or might have been "of native Indian origin" (B. V. Head, *op. cit.*, p. 836). G. Macdonald described the weight standard in question as "Indo-Persic" (E. J. Rapson, *op. cit.* p. 461) and E. J. Rapson took it as "Indian (or Persian)" (*ibid.* p. 545). A. Von Sallet observed that the heavier pieces were "tetradrachms" and the lighter ones "drachms" of much reduced standard based on a current Indian standard (*Zeitschrift für Numismatik*, 1879, vol. VI, pp. 276 f). "The advantageous course" in the opinion of R. B. Whitehead "was to strike hybrid coins on an arbitrary standard smaller than either the Bactrian or Indian, and to make profit by this debasement of currency. The reduced scale does not seem to be related to any known standard" (*NC*, 1923, p. 298). J. N. Banerjea was inclined to support the theories of Gardner and Von Sallet, even though he pointed out that the people of North-Western India knew before the advent of the Greeks the use of heavy silver bent bar coins as well as of "light weight silver coins" (K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, *op. cit.*, p. 794). A. N. Lahiri, who mainly follows A. Von Sallet and R. B. Whitehead, has observed that 144 and 36 grain Indo-Greek silver coins were "Indian tetradrachms" and "Indian drachms" respectively. These drachms were struck on an Indian weight standard of 20 *ratis* and the tetradrachms were based on that of 80 *ratis* (A. N. Lahiri,

op. cit., p. 16; *Monthly Bulletin of the Asiatic Society*, August, 1967, vol. II, no. 8, p. 7; *Journal of Ancient Indian History*, 1967-68, vol. I, p. 57; *JNSI*, 1969, vol. XXXI, pp. 113 f).

It is obvious that all these hypotheses, including the one put forward by us, contain elements of conjectures. The theory adopted here has, however, one important feature. It allows us to relate the new Indo-Greek weight system to a known weight standard, viz. that of Achaemenid stater (172.90 grains).

70. In a much later period the Imperial Gupta monarch Chandragupta II had to strike in Western India silver coins based on the weight-system of the silver species of the Western Satraps, whose dominions he had conquered. At that time the Guptas had already to their credit a splendid series of gold coins.

71. According to Herodotus, the ratio between gold and silver in the Persian (Achaemenid) empire was 1 : 13. (A. Selincourt, *The History of Herodotus*, p. 215). However, as we know, the figure 13 should be corrected as [86.45 (grains, the weight of a silver siglos of the Achaemenid empire) \times 20 sigloi which were equal in value to one gold daric = $1729 \div 130$ (grains, the weight of one daric) =] 13.3. Alexander fixed the ratio at 1 : 10 (B. V. Head, *op. cit.*, pp. 224-225). The Bactrian Greeks might have adopted this ratio. If, however, they followed the customary Greek habit of exchanging one gold stater against twenty-four silver drachms (B. V. Head, *op. cit.*, p. 222), they could have fixed the ratio at 1 : 12 [66 or 67.2 or 67.5 (grains, weight of a silver drachm struck on Attic standard) \times 24 (Attic drachms which were equal in value to one Attic gold stater) = 1584 or 1612.8 or 1620 \div 132 or 134.4 or 135 (grains, weight of an Attic gold stater) = 121. (See also C. Seltman, *Greek Coins* (2nd edition), p. 137; B. V. Head, *op. cit.*, pp. 226 and 373; A. N. Lahiri, *op. cit.*, p. 14). Sources pertaining to some parts of India, other than N. W. India, suggests that in a later period (that of the Guptas) the value of silver was much higher in relation to gold. This fact lends support to the theory that in early India the ratio between gold and silver was 1 : 8 (A. Cunningham, *Coins of Ancient India*, p. 5; E. J. Rapson (editor), *op. cit.*, p. 342). If this was so, the intrinsic value of Bactrian silver coins would be more in India than in Bactria. So a Bactrian silver coin in India would pass more as bullion than as a regular coin. This would defeat the very purpose of minting. So to keep parity between the values of all silver coins of same denomination current in different parts of the kingdom, the Bactrian Greeks had to adopt at least two different weight systems. The

lighter weight standard contemplated by them might have been very close to the weight standard of a Persian silver stater (172.90 grains). Hence either the new coins began to be struck on the weight standard of a Persian stater, or the new tetradrachm became known, soon after its appearance, as stater.

72. *NC*, 1923, p. 317; *CCGSK*, p. 165. A. N. Lahiri, *op. cit.*, pp. 109, 126 and 136. Only drachms of Eucratides (I), struck on this standard, are known.

73. *Ibid.*, pp. 115 f and 139 f; K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, *op. cit.*, p. 793.

74. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, *op. cit.*, p. 794.

75. *JNSI*, 1960, vol. XXII, pp. 68-69.

76. Mr. G. K. Jenkins has observed on the coins of Puḍena and Ajuna that "the metal is variable and of poor quality. The *theoretical* fitness corresponding to S. G. 9.90 would be only 665 (out of 1000), and that S. G. 8.42 is well below that of copper (8.90). This does not mean that the latter is therefore only copper; but when the S. G. figure is very low for a silver coin it cannot be taken as accurate, and seems to indicate no more than the fact that the coin is made of very base alloy, possibly containing *some* silver, but not much" (Mr. Jenkins' letter to the author dated 20.12.66).

77. In this connection see G. Macdonald, *The Evolution of Coinage*, pp. 57 f; H. W. A. Linecar, *Coins* (2nd edition), pp. 23 f; etc.

78. *NC*, 1963, p. 224.

79. S. K. Chakravarty, *Studies in Ancient Indian Numismatics*, p. 114; *CCIM*, pp. 193-194; G. Macdonald, *op. cit.*, pp. 67-68.

80. S. K. Chakravarty, *op. cit.*, p. 114; T. Hanson, *Coin Collecting*, pp. 13-14. In this connection see the *Āin-i-Akbarī*, 6 and 7 for information on a similar method of preparing blanks in Mughal mints.

81. Such a practice was followed at least in the mediaeval age (Abūl Fazl-i-'Allāmī, *Āin-i-Akbarī*, 7).

82. G. Macdonald, *op. cit.*, pp. 64-65; J. Del Monte, *Fell's International Coin Book*, p. 21. It was perhaps also possible to engrave the negative impression of a design on a block of stone and then to use the latter as a die (In this connection see also *NC*, 1922, p. 2).

83. It was also possible to cut a positive design in high relief on the lower end of a bar or punch, and then to punch it

on soft metal to produce a die with the negative impression in bas-relief. This method, known as hubbing, allowed die-cutters to have identical dies from one master punch (NC, 1922, pp. 18-22; 1963, p. 221). The positive design could be impressed, while the bar or punch carrying it was hot, on a piece of hard wood. The latter could then possibly serve the purpose of a die (In this connection see also *ibid.*, 1922, p. 2). It is difficult to ascertain whether this system was known to the mint-masters of the Paratas.

84. As this technique is simple and does not, at least essentially, require any mechanical force, it could have been followed in earlier ages. It has been in practice also in modern or semi-modern mints (J. Del Monte, *op. cit.*, p. 21).

85. In this connection see G. Macdonald, *op. cit.*, p. 62; C. Seltman, *op. cit.*, pp. 21-22; etc.

86. G. Macdonald, *op. cit.*, p. 66; S. K. Chakravarty, *op. cit.*, p. 114.

87. C. Seltman, *op. cit.*, pp. 21-22.

88. That Roman mints used hinges "is proved by the discovery, in Gaul, of an obverse and a reverse die of Constans I, still so connected. Alternatively, the upper die might be so constructed as to fit on to the lower one like the lid of a box, as is the case with a pair of dies of Faustina Junior, now in the Lyons Museum" (G. Macdonald, *op. cit.*, p. 66). In this connection see also G. Macdonald's article "Fixed and Loose Dies in Ancient Coinage" in the *Corolla Numismatica*, 1906, pp. 178 f.

89. For a description of this monetary technique, see C. Seltman, *op. cit.*, pp. 21-22.

90. In this connection see also H. W. A. Linecar, *op. cit.*, p. 25. There is no evidence of the use of any type of collar around the dies to check the blanks from spreading out. The edges of Parata coins do not indicate that they were even milled.

CHAPTER II

CATALOGUE

GROUP I

COINS with Greek and Kharoshthī Inscriptions
shape—intended to be round

<i>No.</i>	<i>Metal</i>	<i>Wt.</i>	<i>Size</i>	<i>Devices and Legends</i>
1	AE	150	.9"	obverse:—A bust of a male figure to right; a Kharoshthī monogram on the right; marginal Kharoshthī inscription — (IV) <i>Padada(?)ka(?) Pa(?)ra(?)ta(?) (sa) (?).....</i> reverse:—A man on a horse moving to right; he is being crowned by Nike flying from behind; traces of Greek inscription— (VIII) <i>TYRO(?).....</i> (VII) <i>KOSS...(Figs. 1, 13 and 14).</i>
2	AE	150.6	.85"	obverse:—Same as on coin no. 1; marginal Kharoshthī inscription — (VI)

<i>No.</i>	<i>Metal</i>	<i>Wt.</i>	<i>Size</i>	<i>Devices and Legends</i>
				<i>Rayasa</i> [<i>raña</i> (?)] ...(I) <i>Pa da da ka</i> <i>Parata(sa)</i> . reverse:— Same as on coin no. 1; traces of Greek legend-(IX) <i>TY</i> (VII) <i>KOSSAN</i> (Figs. 2, 15 and 16).

GROUP II

COINS with Kharoshthī Inscription
shape—intended to be round

- 3 AR 24.7 .45" obverse:— A bearded bust to left within a border of dots; it is draped with an upper garment (?) and is adorned with an ornament on the frontal portion of the head (?); the hair hangs down to the shoulders, as noticeable in the busts on several Arsacid coins (W. Wroth, *A Catalogue of the Greek Coins*

No.	Metal	Wt.	Size	<i>Devices and Legends</i>
				<i>in the British Museum, Catalogue of the Coins of Parthia, pl. xviii, no. 8; xxxi, no. 5).</i>
				reverse:— <i>Svastika</i> symbol at about the centre of the field; marginal Kharoshthī legend around the symbol —(xi) <i>Bagapharna-putrasa Parata (or da) (ra*) jasa Puḍe-nasa</i> (Figs. 3 and 18).
4	AR	37.6	.6" obverse:—	A bearded bust to left within a border of dots; it is draped with an upper garment; the hair hangs down the shoulders; the bust appears to have a head-gear which looks like a helmet ending in lion's head as can be seen on coins of Hormizd I Kushānshāh (E. Herzfeld, <i>Kushano-Sasanian Coins</i> , <i>MASI</i> , no. 38, pl.

CATALOGUE

Devices and Legends

No. Metal Wt. Size

II, nos. 15a and 15b; *JNSI*, 1956, vol. xviii, pt. I, pl. I, nos. 2-3). (It may be pointed out that the style of execution of the bust on the coin concerned is comparable with that of the representation of the heads on Hormizd I's coins) (Fig. 12).

reverse:—Same as on coin no. 3; marginal Kharoshthī inscription —(vii) (Ba)gapha- (or phi)(rnapu)trasa Pudhra (or dhre)- nasa (Figs. 4 and 19).

GROUP III

Coins with Brāhmī Legend
shape—intended to be round

5 AR .5" obverse:—A bust of a male to right within a border of dots; it is draped with a

<i>No.</i>	<i>Metal</i>	<i>Wt.</i>	<i>Size</i>	<i>Devices and Legends</i>
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loose garment and is adorned with a necklace (?); the hair hangs down to the neck and is tied with a fillet placed diagonally around the head; the loose ends of the fillet hangs down the shoulders. (The style of dressing the hair is comparable with that of the busts on many Parthian coins) (W. Wroth, *op. cit.*, pl. xxxi, no. 12; *PMC*, vol. I, pl. xvi, nos. 72 and 76).

reverse: — Same as on coin no. 3; marginal Brāhmī legend — (π) *Yasa-mā* (or *mi*) *raputrasa Paratarāja Hvara* (or *va* or *ha*) *mirasa* (Figs. 5 and 20).

6	AR	28	.5" obverse:—	A bust of a male to right within a border of dots; it is draped with a loose
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<i>No.</i>	<i>Metal</i>	<i>Wt.</i>	<i>Size</i>	<i>Devices and Legends</i>
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upper garment and is adorned with a necklace; the hair hangs down to the neck and is tied with a fillet placed diagonally around the head.

reverse:— Same as on coin no. 3; marginal Brāhmī inscription around the symbol...(vii) (*puta*)*sa Paratara-jasa Palasara(sa*)* (Figs. 6 and 21).

7	AR	45.5	.55"	obverse:— A bust of a male to right within a border of dots (?); though it is slightly effaced, the style of its execution seems to be same as that of the bust on the coin no. 5.
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reverse:— *Svastika* symbol, slightly slanting towards left, at about the centre of the field; marginal Brāhmī legend— (vii) *Hilamā* (or *jā*)-

<i>No.</i>	<i>Metal</i>	<i>Wt.</i>	<i>Size</i>	<i>Devices and Legends</i>
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				<i>raputasa Paratarā- (jā*) A j u n a (s a) (Figs. 7 and 22).</i>
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8	AR	.55"	obverse:—	A bust of a male to right within a border of dots; it is draped with an upper garment and is adorned with a necklace; the hair hangs down to the neck and is tied with a fillet placed diagonally around the head; the loose ends of the fillet hang down the shoulders.
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reverse:— *Svastika* symbol at about the centre of the coin; two dots in the upper portion of the right side of the field; traces of marginal Brāhmī legend ...
(xi) *Mi(?)to(?)lā*
[or *pā(?)* or *ha(?)*]
pa (or *sa*)
(Figs. 8 and 23).

CHAPTER III

THE PEOPLE

HERODOTUS refers to a tribe called Paraitakenoi. He states that "Deïokes collected the Medes into a nation, and ruled over them alone. Now these are the tribes of which they consist: the Bousai, the Paraitakenoi, the Stroukhates, the Arizantoi, the Boudai and the Magoi.¹

Deïokes, the first Median king, reigned for fifty-three years before his son succeeded him in c. 658 B.C.² The capital of Deïokes was at Agbatana,³ identifiable with Hamadan or with Takht-i-Suleiman.⁴ The latter identification is supported by the statement that "the mountains . . . lie to the north of Agbatana towards the Euxine"⁵ or the Black Sea.⁶ Herodotus further describes Media or the country of the Medes as partly mountainous, (covered with forests and bordering the Casperians), and partly on level ground.⁷

Though this description is not adequate, it perhaps suggests that Media included the regions of mountains and plains of North-Western Persia.⁸ In or not far from this area should have been the territory of the Paraitakenoi, one of the Median tribes owing allegiance to Deïokes.

The last two letters (-oi) of the expression *Paraitakenoi*, referring to a Median tribe, surely form the Greek nominative inflexion and the rest of it is based on a name in Median, which was a branch of the Old Iranian language.⁹ Hence, on the analogy of the appearance in classical literature of such a term like *Assaken(oi)*,¹⁰ which is probably based on the word

Assakāna (*Assaka* + Old Iranian suffix *ana*),¹¹ the form *Paraitaken(o)* can be considered to have been ultimately derived from some such name as *Paraitakāna* (*Paraitaka* + *ana*). Again, *-ka* of *Paraitaka* could well have been the Old Iranian suffix *-ka*.¹² This indicates *Paraita* as the stem of the inflected form *Paraitakenoi*. *Paraitaka* (*Paraita* + *ka*) should denote the people belonging to the Paraita tribe,¹³ and *Paraitakāna* can denote the land of the people belonging to the Paraita tribe.¹⁴ *Paraitakenoi* (*Paraitakanoi*) may refer to the men belonging to the people of the Paraita tribe or, in other words, to the Paraitas themselves.

The *Stathmoi Parthikoi*, a Greek text of an age much later than that of Herodotus, locates a territory named after the Paraitakenoi in the 'Sakastan or Seistan area. A source of a still later date places a habitat of the Paratas in Baluchistan, situated not very far to the south-east of Seistan (see below). Thus the two localities, one connected with the Paraitas and another with the Paratas, were situated not far from each other. This inference seems significant in view of the information, which will be furnished below, about a roughly eastward migration of the Paraitakenoi from Media. It is also interesting to note that while Arrian probably locates the Paraitakenoi (=Paraitakenoi ?) in Transoxiana (see below), some Purāṇas may place the Pāradas, whom we shall presently connect or identify with the Paratas, in a zone on the Oxus.¹⁵

We shall see later that the Paraitas and also the Paratas (=Pāradas) used to grow their hair long. The male folk used to have the hair hanging down to the shoulders.

This habit common to the Paraitas and the Paratas

and the geographical contiguity of or nearness between some of the habitats of these peoples, tend to suggest that the similarity between their names might not have been accidental. One may think that an original *Paraita* might have been shortened into *Parata*, which form is indicated by different sources, including a few Sanskritic ones. However, as the form *Paraita* in a Greek or Iranian text would suggest *Pareta*, and not *Parata*, in Sanskritic sources,¹⁶ it is better to assume that the form *Paraita* crept into Greek writings due to wrong pronunciation of the name by the informants of the authors concerned or due to some peculiarity in pronouncing the name in a locality or localities whence the data about the people in question were collected. Analogous cases of wrong rendering of Oriental names in Greek treatises may be cited. For examples, we may refer to occurrences of such forms as *Maisol(oî)* for *Moshal(āḥ)*, *Peukolaiti(s)* for *Pushkalāvatī*, etc.¹⁷

These arguments suggest that the forms *Paraita* and *Parata* may denote one and the same people. At least such a suggestion may be accepted as a working hypothesis.¹⁸

It appears that Herodotus furnishes the first known reference to the *Paraitas* or *Paratas*. They may be considered to have been originally a Median tribe. They were already in existence in the 7th century B.C.

Apparently the same people is referred to in the expression *Paraitakai* [*(Paraitaka)* + *ai* (nominative plural inflexion)].¹⁹ A passage in Strabo's *Geographikon* locates the *Paraitakai* in the country of Aturia of Assyria.²⁰ The plains of Aturia surrounded Ninus,²¹ i.e. Nineveh, identified with modern Tell Quyunjiq and Tell Nebi Yunus on the eastern side of the Tigris and not

very far from Mosul in modern Iraq.²² Thus the territory of the Paraitakai, was, as a part of the Assyrian empire, situated near the upper Tigris. And as the Assyrian empire fell in the last quarter of the 7th century B.C.,²³ the Paraitakai might have owed allegiance to the Assyrian empire for some time in or before that period. It is, however, not certain whether the Paraitakai were under the Assyrian power before the age of the Median king Deïokes.

According to another passage of Strabo, the Araxes flowed through the country of the Paraitakai.²⁴ The Araxes is identifiable with the Araks river in the border regions of Eastern Turkey, Armenia and Azerbaijan (USSR) and North-Western Persia.²⁵ All these topographical details locate the area of the Paraitakai in the extreme north-western region of Persia and thereabouts.

The Paraitakenoi are placed by certain other sections of Strabo's *Geographikon*, above (i.e. on the north of) Babylonia (near the territory of the Elymaei and the Zagrus mountain),²⁶ to the east of the country of the Babylonians²⁷ and also above Susa (?) and Babylonia, "on the north and towards the east".²⁸ These topographical data locate the zone concerned to the north-east of Babylonia, now included in and about South-Eastern Iraq,²⁹ and hence somewhere about the central region of the Eastern Persia near Iraq.³⁰

This habitat of the Paraitakai might have been traversed and subdued by Alexander in course of his march from Persipolis to Ecbatana.³¹ He appointed Oxathres, son of Abulites, as the satrap over them.³² They might have migrated to the territory in question by the time of Alexander (second half of the 4th century B.C.). One of the statements of Strabo locating the

Paraitakenoi in this zone also describes them as subject to the Parthians.³³ So the Paraitakenoi or at least a part of them continued to live here till the days of the Arsacids. They were apparently included among the barbarians who, according to Strabo, attacked and killed Antiochus the Great when he attempted to plunder the temple of Belus.³⁴ The Seleucid king Antiochus III Magnus (Great) is known to have been murdered in 187 B.C. in an expedition organised to rob a shrine of Bel in the Elymean hills.³⁵

It is not clear whether the identical habitat or one further to the north-east is alluded to by Strabo's description of (the land of) the Paraitakenoi as bounding great Media on the east and bordering the Persians.³⁶ Another statement of Strabo describes their country as stretching "from the border of Persis (*in modern South-Western Persia and including Persipolis*)³⁷ to the Caspian Gates"³⁸ (*Teng-i-Suluk (25°20' × 50°) on the Elburz mountains and, near the Caspian Sea*)³⁹ (*Italics ours*).

At least a section of the Paraitakai may be considered to have migrated much to the north-east even by the time of Alexander, if they are identified with the Pareitakai mentioned by Arrian.⁴⁰ He indicated that one of the localities under them was behind Bactria and (parts of ?) Sogdiana and between the Oxus and the Iaxartes.⁴¹ He recorded that "after completing his work in Sogdiana, . . . Alexander advanced to the Pareitakai (*Paraitakai ?*), since many of the tribesmen were reported to be holding a strong place in the country of the Pareitakai (*Paraitakai ?*), another rock, called the Rock of Chorienes, and Chorienes himself and many others of the authorities of the country had taken refuge there"⁴²

(*Italics ours*). Chorienes himself ultimately submitted to Alexander. He was treated well and was in fact appointed as the governor of the district he had previously administered.⁴³ Alexander himself then marched towards Bactria, but sent Craterus "against Catanes and Austanes, who alone were left of those who had rebelled in the territory of the Pareitakai (*Paraitakai* ?). There was a severe battle fought against them; but Craterus' troops won the day; Catanes perished on the field, but Austanes was captured and taken before Alexander; of the tribesmen who fought under them, up to a hundred and twenty cavalry perished, and of the infantry about fifteen hundred. And when Craterus' force had accomplished this, they too marched towards Bactria. . . ."⁴⁴ (*Italics ours*).

It appears that by the time Alexander had traversed the country of the Paraitakai between Persipolis and Ecbatana, a group of them had left that area and had settled in a locality between the Oxus and the Jaxartes. We may guess that they moved through the Caspian Gates and Hyrcania and across the Oxus and thence through Sogdiana. A section of this people, however, continued to possess their country between Persipolis and Ecbatana, even after the period of Alexander. They may have, though it is not certain, expanded the limits of their territory towards Babylonia and up to the Caspian Gates. At least a branch of them had migrated to this part of Asia from their earliest known habitat or habitats in the extreme north-western areas of Persia and thereabouts in an age probably much earlier than that of Alexander.⁴⁵ They continued to stay in these regions at least up to sometime in the period of the Imperial Parthians, to whom they owed allegiance.

The migration of the Paraitakai did not stop either in the Transoxianan territories or in their zone between Ecbatana and Persipolis. The *Stathmoi Parthikoi* of Isidore of Charax, composed between c. 26 or 25 B.C. and c. 1 B.C.,⁴⁶ calls Sakastane (Sakastana) also as the Paraitakene. The name *Paraitakene* is the nominative singular form of the term *Paraitakena*.⁴⁷ The passage concerned states that "beyond is Sakastane of the Skythian Sakai, which is also Paraitakene, 63 schoeni. There is the city of Barda and the city of Min and the city of Palakenti and the city of Sigal; in that place is the royal residence of the Sakai; and nearby is the city of Alexandreia (and nearby is the city of Alexandropolis) and 6 villages".⁴⁸ Thus by 1 B.C. Sakastane, i.e. Sakastan or the modern Siestan area,⁴⁹ was also named after the Paraitakenoi, who were the same as the Paraitakai. And since a tract would have taken time to be named after a people settled therein the Paraitakas might have come to that area long before 1 B.C.

In this context a statement of Pliny assumes significance. According to a section of his *Naturalis Historia*, based probably on a much earlier evidence,⁵⁰ "between the Parthi and the Ariani projects the territory of the Paraetaceni".⁵¹ Another part of the same section of Pliny's treatise indicated that the possessions of the Parthi extended (in the north-east) up to and included the country called Parthyaea, which was bounded on the north by Hyrcania, on the east by the Arii and on the south by Carmania and the Ariani.⁵² Hyrcania was on the south-eastern shore of the Caspian Sea and Ariana incorporated, *inter alia*, much of North Afghanistan including Aria or the Herat

area.⁵³ Hence the habitat of the Paraetaceni, situated between the territories of the Parthi and the Ariani, should have been somewhere on the upper borderlands between present Persia and Afghanistan, and near the Herat area.

The Paraetaceni were apparently the same as the Paraitakenoi [*Paraetaceno* (= *Paraitakeno*) + *i* (= *oi*) (nominative plural inflexion)]⁵⁴. They could have moved into this zone from their habitat between Persipolis and Ecbatana. They might have been then in course of their migration to Transoxiana. It was also not impossible for them to come to the area in question from Transoxiana. If this hypothesis is acceptable, we may assume that at least a group of the Paraitakenoi came to the south of the Oxus in the wake of the invasion of Bactria by the Scythian nomads referred to by Strabo,⁵⁵ which took place in the 2nd century B.C.⁵⁶ It is perhaps not without significance that Isidore described a territory, named after the Sakas, as also carrying the name of the Paraitakenoi.

Whichever of the above hypotheses is correct, it seems highly probable that Pliny's statement under discussion alludes to a stage in the migration of the Paraitakenoi, either from their territory between Persipolis and Ecbatana or from Transoxiana to the Seistan region. This migration was completed by c. 1 B.C. or even long before it.

Here we can discuss the evidence of two important Chinese treatises. One of them, the *Hou Han-shu*, states that the kingdom of Wu-i-shan-li "has in this time changed its name into that of P'ai-ch'ih".⁵⁷ The *Wei-Lüeh* also confirms that Wu-i (= Wu-i-shan-li) "is also called P'ai-ch'ih".⁵⁸ The *Hou Han-shu's* chap-

ter on the "western region", in which its above statement occurs, was mainly, though not exclusively, based on the report of Pan Yung, prepared in c. A.D. 125.⁵⁹ The *Wei-Lüeh*, or the Summary of the Wei (A.D. 220 to 265), appears to have been composed between c. A.D. 239 and 265. It is now known only from the extracts from it quoted in Pe'i Sung-chih's commentary on the *San-kuo chih*, published in A.D. 429.⁶⁰ It follows from these details about the dates of the Chinese statements, that perhaps by c. A.D. 125 Wu-i-shan-li began to be known as P'ai-ch'ih and continued to be called by that name up to at least the middle of the 3rd century A.D.

In (an edition of) the *San-kuo chih* an alternative reading of the name of the *P'ai-ch'ih* is given as *P'ai-t'o*.⁶¹ As there is a great similarity between the characters *t'o* (Fig. 24) and *ch'ih* (Fig. 25), ill-informed scribes could indeed have misunderstood *t'o* as *ch'ih*.⁶² It is tempting to see in *P'ai-t'o* a reference to *Pa(rai)ta-(ka)* (*Paraitakenoi*), since Wu-i-shan-li can be located in the region of Seistan or ancient Sakastane,⁶³ also known as Paraitakene to Isidore of Charax. It appears that the name *Parata* remained associated with the Seistan area up to the time of the composition of the *Wei-Lüeh* or even up to that of the *San-kuo chih*.

Even if the identification of the term *P'ai-ch'ih* or *P'ai-t'o* with the name *Parata* is considered to be a moot point, the evidence of the *Stathmoi Parthikoi* leaves no room to doubt the presence of the Paratas in Seistan by c. 1 B.C. By the end of the 1st century A.D. they migrated further east or south-east. This is indicated by the *Periplous tes Erythras Thalasses*, approximately of the 1st century A.D.⁶⁴

According to W. H. Schoff's translation, a passage of the *Periplus tes Erythras Thalasses* states that "beyond the Ommanitic region there is a country also of the Persidae, of another kingdom, and the Bay of Gedrosia,⁶⁵ from the middle of which a cape juts out into the bay. Here there is a river affording entrance to the ships, with a little market-town at the mouth, called Oraea, and back from this place an inland city, distant a seven days' journey from the sea, in which also is the King's court; it is called.....⁶⁶ This country yields much wheat wine, rice and dates; but along the coast there is nothing but bdellium".⁶⁷

It should be pointed out that the expression translated as "Persidae" appears in the text itself as *Parodon* (*Parodai*).⁶⁸ The inflected form *Parodon* indicates *Paroda* or *Pāroda* as its stem. C. Muller replaced the reading *Parodon* of the text by *Parsidon*.⁶⁹ All subsequent editors and translators have followed this amendment.⁷⁰ But since we know of a people called the Pāradas, the name of whom may have been pronounced in certain dialects as *Pāroda*, this alteration is unnecessary. Several sources indicate *Pārata* as the alternative form of the term *Pārada*.⁷¹ *Pārata* or *Pārada* denotes someone belonging to the *Parata* or *Parada* race or tribe.⁷² So the *Periplus* seems to refer to the same people, about whom we have discussed above.

It appears that the *Periplus* locates the country of the Parodai (=Pāradas or Pāratas) on the bay of Gedrosia. The coast of the adjoining region of Scythia followed "a wide curve from the east across the depths of the bay".⁷³ Through the country of the Pāradas flowed a river at the mouth of which was the

town called Oraea. From the middle of the former a cape jutted into the bay of Gedrosia.

The above description of the western point of littoral Scythia places the eastern limit of the coastal area of the land of the Parodai in the neighbourhood of Cape Monze. The river in question is identified with ancient Arabis and modern Purali.⁷⁴ Oraea may be considered to have been the same as Ora, which Arrian placed among the Oreitai dwelling on the western bank of the Arabis.⁷⁵

This topographical description of the country of the Parodai or the Pāradas (Pāratas) surely indicates that it included at least the coastal region of the Las Bela district of Baluchistan.⁷⁶ The Pāradas must have colonised that country before the date of the information of the author of the *Periplus* about that area, which may be placed in the 1st century A.D.⁷⁷ It is, however, not clear from the evidence of the *Periplus* whether the Pāradas were ruled by a king having racial affiliation to them.⁷⁸

This or some other habitat of the Pāradas (i.e. the Pāratas or people belonging to the Parata tribe), which seems to have included parts of coastal Baluchistan (?) to the west of the Indus is referred to by the *Mahābhārata*, the substantial portion of which probably did not "reach its present form earlier than the 4th century B.C. and later than the 4th century A.D."⁷⁹ Two verses of the great epic describe certain peoples including the Pāradas as "born near the sea and dwelling beyond (i.e. to the west of) the Sindhu (river) (i.e. the Indus) [*Samudranikaṭe jātāḥ parisindhu nivāsiṇaḥ / Te vairāmaḥ Pāradāścha Vangāścha Kiṭavaiḥ saha...*]."⁸⁰

It is interesting to note that Ptolemy, who composed his *Geographike Huphegesis* in the second or third quarter of the 2nd century A.D. on the basis of earlier and contemporary sources,⁸¹ located a territory called Paradene in Gedrosia.⁸² Gedrosia, according to his description, included a substantial part of Baluchistan situated above the sea and below the territories incorporated in ancient Arachosia and Drangiane.⁸³ The expression *Paradene* may be taken as the feminine nominative singular form of *Pārādāna* (*Pārada* + *ana*) = *Pāradena* (c.f. *Kushāṇa* appearing as *Kousen(on)* in the Greek version of Naqsh-i-Rustam inscription of Shāpūr I).⁸⁴ It may also be argued that the occurrence of such expressions in Ptolemy's treatise as *Syrastrène* and *Patalene*,⁸⁵ which certainly incorporate the names *Surāshṭra* and *Pātāla*,⁸⁶ should support the suggestion that the form *Paradene*, also mentioned by Ptolemy, is based on the term *Parada* (*Pārada*).

According to Ptolemy, the maritime parts of Gedrosia "are possessed by the villages of the Arabitai, and the parts along Karamania by the Parsidai (or Parsirai), and the parts along Arakhosia by the Mausarnai, (and) all the interior of the country is called Paradene, and below it Parisiene, after which the parts towards the Indus river are possessed by the Rhamnai".⁸⁷ It is noteworthy that while the testimonies of the *Periplus* and perhaps also of the *Mahābhārata* include a coastal zone of Baluchistan in the area of the Pāradas, Ptolemy located their territory in the interior of Baluchistan.⁸⁸ If the date of Ptolemy's information in question is considered later than that of the data on the Pāradas collected by the author of the *Periplus*, which is of

course a hypothetical proposition, then the Pāradas may be considered to have lost their maritime district sometime between the dates of these sources.

In this connection we may refer to an evidence of the Naqsh-i-Rustam inscription of the Sasanian emperor Shāpūr I. It includes Twgrn—also called Tourene, Twrgstn and Twrstn—within his empire.⁸⁹ This country is described in the same source as spreading “as far as the sea-coast”.⁹⁰ Thus a part of this Tourene was on the sea.

A possible clue to the location of Tourene, i.e. Tūrān or Turan,⁹¹ is perhaps indicated by the *Hudūd al-ʿĀlam*. According to it, Qusdhan (Qusdar) was within Tūrān.⁹² Though this treatise belongs to a period much later than the age of Shāpūr I, the probable identification of Qusdar with Khuzdar in the north-eastern area of Southern Baluchistan⁹³ and so with a locality not very far from the ocean and within the probable frontiers of Shāpūr I's empire makes it possible that within Tūrān of the *Hudūd al-ʿĀlam* may have been parts of Tourene on the sea as denoted by the Naqsh-i-Rustam epigraph. In this case, Tūrān or Turan = Tourene = Twgrn included the Jhalawan and Las Bela districts.

It has been admitted that the form *Twyr*, probably pronounced as *Tur(a)r*,⁹⁴ may be traced from the same source from which we can derive the name *Tokharo(i)* or *Tochar(i)*.⁹⁵ Hence *Twyrn* = *Twgrn* < *Twgr* + *ān* may denote “the Tochari” or “of the Tochari”. The name *Twgr* can indeed be noticed on several coins attributed to the Tochari.⁹⁶ As it has already been noted, the Tokharoi or Tochari of the classical and the Tukhāras of the Indian sources were identical with or closely related to the Yüeh-

chih.⁹⁷ If this was so, the tracts of Jhalawan and Las Bela were known by the name of the Tochari-Yüeh-chih at least in A.D. 262, the date of the composition of the Naqsh-i-Rustam epigraph of Shāpūr I.⁹⁸

A country can be named after a people only when they have been for some time numerically preponderant or politically dominant there. Hence it seems that the Tochari-Yüeh-chih became active in the area in question well before A.D. 262. Moreover, Al-Ṭabarī records the existence of the Tūrān (Turan) country, identifiable with the territory of Twgrn,⁹⁹ at about the time of (or not long after) Ardashīr I's victory over Ardawan (= Artabanus V)¹⁰⁰ in c. A.D. 224.¹⁰¹ Therefore the activities of the Tochari-Yüeh-chih in the region concerned might have begun even well before this date.

It appears that the country of the Pāradas, referred to in the *Periplus*, and also Twgrn, mentioned in the record of Shāpūr I, incorporated the coastal area of the Las Bela district of Baluchistan. A comparison between the probable dates of the sources concerned suggests the transfer of the Las Bela district from the Pārada territory to the Twgrn country.¹⁰²

The acceptance of this hypothesis, however, does not necessarily mean the extinction from Baluchistan of the name *Pārada* (*Pārata*) as a territorial unit. In fact, the Parthian version of the Naqsh-i-Rustam inscription of Shāpūr I includes P'rtn as well as Twgrn in list of his provinces and inserts the name of P'rtn between the names of Mkwrn and Hndstn.¹⁰³ As Mkwrn or Makurān, i.e. Makran, included at least parts of Southern Baluchistan¹⁰⁴ and as Hndstn or Hindustān in question was on the lower Indus,¹⁰⁵ P'rtn might have been situated in Eastern Baluchistan. *P'rtn* (*Parata* +

ān or *Pārata+ān*), mentioned as (*Para*)*dene* in the Greek version of the Naqsh-i-Rustam epigraph, probably denotes the territory of the Paratas or Pāratas, i.e., Paradas or Pāradas.

Al Ṭabarī states that the king of Kūshān and the monarchs of Tūrān and Mokrān offered submission to Ardashīr (I).¹⁰⁶ But he does not refer to the submission of Paratān or Pāratān to the Sasanid sovereign. The evidence of the Naqsh-i-Rustam record, however, proves that Paratān or Pāratān was a part of the Sasanian empire in the region of Shāpūr I. If A.D. 262 is correctly considered as the date of the composition of the draft of this inscription, Paratān or Pāratān must have been annexed to the Sasanid empire by that year.

The name of the Paratas or Pāradas is alluded to in another important Sasanian record. The Paikuli inscription of Naresh (A.D. 293-302) furnishes a list of rulers who congratulated (?) him on his accession to the Sasanid throne after ousting Varhran (III).¹⁰⁷ Among them were Kushānshāh, Caesar (Keśara), Pāradānshāh, etc.¹⁰⁸

The appearance of the name of Pāradānshāh in the list referring, *inter alia*, to the Roman emperor may imply his independent status. It is also not unlikely that his territory (Pāradān) might have been substantially the same as P'rtn or Paradene mentioned as a Sasanian province in the Naqsh-i-Rustam inscription of Shāpūr I, the father of Narseh. If these assumptions are correct, P'rtn (Paratān or Pāratān, i.e., Paradān or Pāradān) may be considered to have gained independence sometime between the dates of these two epigraphs. Pāradānshāh or the king of the Pārada

state in question might have been either himself a Pārada or a ruler of a land which had been earlier named after the Pāradas.

It may, however, be suggested, on the analogy of the assumption of the titles Kushānshāh, Sakānshāh, etc., by Sasanian governors and princes,¹⁰⁹ that Pāradānshāh might have been a ruler of a subordinate rank. One can also argue that his territory was not the same as that referred to as P'rtn in the Naqsh-i-Rustam record of Shāpūr I. Such objections to the theory of the independent status of Pāradānshāh, however, cannot altogether undermine his political importance in the days of Narseh. This is indicated by the very inclusion of his name in the list of rulers who congratulated (?) the Sasanian sovereign on his accession to the throne.

The importance of the name *Parata* itself in the history of Indian borderlands and North-Western India is indicated by various other sources.¹¹⁰ We have already demonstrated, on the basis of numismatic evidence, that a member of the Parata race, called Pada-daka, ruled for some time in the 1st century A.D. in an area in North-Western India or its borderlands to the south-east of the Hindu-Kush (Chapter I). He probably reigned there before the Kushāṇa rule was firmly established in North-Western India.

A settlement of the Pāradas in North-Western India or thereabout is referred to in the *Geographike Huphegesis* of Ptolemy. He placed a town called Paradabathra (or Pardabathra) on the western bank of the Indus.¹¹¹ It was located somewhere below Asi-gramma.¹¹² The latter has been identified with Asgram which is situated at a distance of about two miles to

the west of the Indus just outside the extreme north-eastern corner of the Peshawar district.¹¹³ As the Indian base of the expression *bathra* may be considered to have been *padra*,¹¹⁴ meaning "a village",¹¹⁵ the name *Paradabarthra* probably originally denoted a village on the western side of the Indus inhabited by the Paradas or Pāradas. And since, as we have already noted, Ptolemy wrote his treatise in the second or the third quarter of the 2nd century A.D. on the basis of contemporary and earlier sources, Paradabathra came into existence by that date, if not earlier. It is, however, difficult to say what relation this settlement of the Pāradas had with the kingdom ruled by the Parata king Padadaka.

Numismatic evidence testifies to the existence of a tribe or a territory called Parata in the Jhelum district in the 3rd-4th century A.D. (or in the 3rd and 4th centuries and also in the 5th century A.D.?). The Paratarājas of this area, known from their coins, are Puḍena (or Puḍhana or Puḍhena), son of Bagapharna, Hvaramira, son of Yasamāra, Palasara, son of x, and Ajuna, son of Hilamāra. We have already adduced reasons for considering Puḍena as the earliest of these rulers. The style of portraying the bust on one of his coins betrays influence of that of the ruler's head on one of the species of Hormizd I Kushānshāh. Hence at least a part of Puḍena's reign should be placed after Hormizd I had begun to strike coins as Kushānshāh, probably in or shortly after c. A.D. 262 (Chapter I). The Parata coinage probably came in contact with the Kushano-Sasanian series after the Sasanian occupation of Kushānshahr up to Pshkbwr

or Peshawar (in the north-western part of the Indian subcontinent) by the time of Shāpūr I.¹¹⁶

It appears that the kingdom in question came into existence after the decline of the Kushāṇa power in North-Western India. However, it is not clear whether the family or families of the kings in question played any part in hastening the downfall of the Kushāṇa empire.¹¹⁷

The name of the Pāradas was well-known to several early Indian authors. A section of the *Sabhāparvan* of the *Mahābhārata* speaks of the Pāradas along with the Audumbaras, Bāhlikas, Kāśmīras, Śivis, Trigartas, Yaudheyas, Rājanyas, Madras, Kekayas, Palavas, Śakas, etc.¹¹⁸ A verse in several manuscripts of the *Rāmāyaṇa* refers to the Kāmbojas (or Gāndhāras), Yavanas, Śakas, Pauḍas, Pāradas, Bahlīkas, etc.¹¹⁹ The *Mahāmāyūrī*, which is known to have been translated into Chinese by Kumārajīva between 402 and 412,¹²⁰ mentions Parāśara as the Yaksha in the land of the Pāratas.¹²¹ Chapter XIV of the *Bṛihat-saṁhitā* locates the Pāratas in the west.¹²² In chapter XVI of the same treatise Sūrya (Sun)¹²³, Mangala (Mercury)¹²⁴ and Bṛihaspati (Jupiter)¹²⁵ are described as the lords of the Pāratas.¹²⁶ Several *Purāṇas* include the land of Pāradas in the list of the countries of the Northern Division (Udīchya). They are mentioned together with the Śatadrujas, Kuṇindas, Hārahūṇakas, etc.¹²⁷ But neither any *Purāṇa* nor any other early Indian text precisely defines the limits of the habitat or habitats of the Pāradas in India.¹²⁸

Nevertheless, a few of the Indian sources allude to Indianisation of the Pāradas. The *Manu-smṛiti* includes them along with the Śakas, Yavanas, Kāmbojas,

Pahlavas, etc., among the Kshatriyas who had gradually become *vṛishala* for not observing daily rites and for violating the injunctions in the *Vedas* and *Brāhmaṇas*.¹²⁹ The *Harivaṁśa* and a few *Purāṇas* refer to the Kāmbojas, Yavanas, Śakas, Pāradas and Pahlavas, as Kshatriyas, who were prohibited from performing prescribed duties (*dharma*).¹³⁰

It appears that by the time of the completion of the composition of the *Manu-smṛiti* (by c. A.D. 200)¹³¹ or of the *Harivaṁśa* (by about the 4th century A.D.)¹³² the Pāradas had been included within the Indian social system of four castes (*chāturvarṇyam*). They were even considered as of Kshatriya origin, though, as it was thought, they were later degraded to the status of *Vṛishala* (*Śūdra*).

Different versions of an interesting story in the *Harivaṁśa* and some *Purāṇas* including the *Vāyu*, *Brahmāṇḍa*, *Brahma*, *Vishṇu*, *Śiva*, *Bhāgavata* and *Brihannāradiya* explain the reason for the degradation of the Pāradas, etc.¹³³ In the *Harivaṁśa*, *Vāyu Purāṇa*, *Prahmāṇḍa Purāṇa*, *Brahma Purāṇa* and *Śiva Purāṇa* the story is narrated twice, first in short and then in detail.¹³⁴ The legend can be summarised as follows.¹³⁵

King Bāhu of the Ikshvāku dynasty was ousted from his kingdom by the Haihayas and the Tāla-jaṅghas, with whom were also the Śakas, Yavanas, Kāmbojas, Pāradas and Pahlavas. Bāhu retired to a forest and died there. His queen, belonging to the Yādava clan, was pregnant at that time. She later gave birth to a male child at the hermitage of Auṛva of the Bhṛigu family. The child, who was named Sagara, was brought up by the sage. With the help

of the fire-weapon given to him by Aurva, Sagara annihilated the Haihayas (and the Tālajaṅghas). He was also determined to destroy the Śakas, Yavanas, Kāmbojas, Pāradas and Pahlavas. These peoples took refuge to Sagara's preceptor Vaśiṣṭha, who advised him to spare them. Sagara made a compromise between his vow and his preceptors' advice. He "killed" the *dharma* of these peoples and compelled them to change their *veśa*. Thus the Śakas had to shave half of their head, and the Yavanas and the Kāmbojas the whole of their head, while the Pāradas had to keep their hair loose and the Pahlavas had to grow long beard. They and some other Kshatriya peoples were prohibited from practising *dharma* (or prohibited from studying the *Vedas* and offering oblations).¹³⁶

It is difficult, considering the legendary nature of the above narrative and the absence of supporting evidence, to accept the historicity of the claim of the participation of the Śakas, Pāradas, etc., in the struggle between the Ikshavākus on one hand and the Haihayas and the Tālajaṅghas on the other.¹³⁷ The episode of the participation of the Pāradas, etc., might well have been grafted on an original tradition about the subjugation of the Haihayas and the Tālajaṅghas by Sagara, which has been referred to in a section of the *Mahābhārata*.¹³⁸ Moreover, as it has been pointed out by D. C. Sircar, the "known facts of history indicate beyond doubt that the Greeks and Scythians had nothing to do with India in the hoary antiquity, to which mythology ascribes Bāhu and Sagara".¹³⁹ The Puranic tradition regards Sagara as twenty-four (sometimes twenty) generations¹⁴⁰ in ascent from Rāma, the hero of Vāl-

mīki's treatise. The *Rāmāyaṇa* itself, the substantial portion of which seems to have been composed between c. 200 B.C. and A.D. 200,¹⁴¹ places Rāma twenty-one generations after Sagara.¹⁴²

Thus the Śakas, Pāradas, etc., probably had nothing to do with Sagara, even if this king is accepted, for the sake of argument, as a historical figure. Nevertheless, the story concerned certainly indicates that by the date of the composition of the earliest of its versions referring to the Śakas, Pāradas, etc., these peoples had become well-known in at least a part of the Indian subcontinent and had been taken within the fold of the Indian society.¹⁴³ They were given the status of Kshatriya probably because at least a portion of each of these peoples followed the vocation of warriors. However, as they had originally been outlandish or foreign peoples, the Indian author or authors of the earliest of the versions of the story, with which we are concerned, considered them as degraded.¹⁴⁴ For explaining the reasons for such degradation the fanciful account of the participation of the Śakas, Pāradas, etc., in the struggle between the Ikshvāku family and the Haihayas and the Tāljaṅghas was concocted and incorporated in the Sagara legend.

Thus the Pāratas or Pāradas appear to have merged with the Indian society in the early centuries of the Christian era. The numismatic evidence, discussed above, suggests that they might have maintained their distinct ethnic identity at least up to the 3rd, 4th or 5th century A.D. As we have already indicated, we get some information on their activities at least up to this period.¹⁴⁵

No doubt, the present forms of the *Purāṇas* refer-

ring to the Pāradas may be dated long after 5th century A.D. But the lists of peoples furnished by them seem to have been based, to a great extent, on earlier traditions.¹⁴⁶ Similarly the references to the Pāratas (Pāradas) in Al-Bīrūnī's *Tahqiq-i-Hind*,¹⁴⁷ composed in the 11th century A.D.,¹⁴⁸ and in the *Vaijayanī* of Yādavaprakāśa,¹⁴⁹ assigned to the same century,¹⁵⁰ do not prove that the term *Pārada* was well-known as the name of a people in that period. The name *Pārata* occurs in a list of countries which Al-Bīrūnī explicitly stated as having been taken from the *Bṛihat-saṁhitā* of Varāha-mihira.¹⁵¹ Yādavaprakāśa utilised, as C. A. Lewis has shown,¹⁵² Puranic lists of peoples, which refer to the Pāradas.

Thus there is at present no evidence of the continuation of the people in question as an important political power after the disintegration of the Parata kingdom in the Jhelum district. However, it can be argued, though not very convincingly, that references to the Pāradas in more than one chapter of the *Bṛihat-saṁhitā* indicate that they formed a well-known community in the age of its composition, i.e. the 6th century A.D.¹⁵³

We shall suggest later that mercury (*rasa*) became known as *pārada* probably because the Pāradas dealt with it as traders. If this was the case, we may note with some interest the fanciful explanation (*piparti pārataḥ, pārām tanoti vā*) of the significance of the word *pārata* (*pārada*) (mercury), furnished by Kshīrasvamī,¹⁵⁴ the commentator on the *Nāma-liṅgānuśāsana* of Amarasimha.¹⁵⁵ His explanation perhaps indicates that the origin of the term *pārada* (*pārata*) and so perhaps of the name of the people de-

noted by it had become obscure by the time of Kshīrasvāmī, who flourished in the 11th century A.D.¹⁵⁶

B

We should now try, against the background of our knowledge of the migration and settlements of the people in question in several parts of Asia, to collect the data concerning their socio-economic conditions in these habitats. Some relevant information may be obtained from sources which locate their territories in North-Western Persia, in an area near the upper Tigris and not far from Mosul, in the central zone of Western Persia, in Seistan, and in parts of the Indian subcontinent and thereabouts (including Baluchistan). As the dates of these sources differ from one another and as the custom and habits of a people may vary from age to age, the available data should be classified on the basis of their chronological sequence and geographical implication.

The Paraitakenoi formed a tribe of Media, which included, as shown above, the regions of mountains and plains of North-Western Persia. As a part of the Median people, this tribe was expected to follow in general the rites and custom of the Medians.¹⁵⁷

Book xvi of the *Geographikon* of Strabo locates the Paraitakai in Aturia of Assyria,¹⁵⁸ i.e. in an area near the upper Tigris and not far from Mosul (see above). The same book of this treatise also give an account of the custom prevalent in Assyria.¹⁵⁹ It is only logical to presume that this description has at least some relevance to the polity and society of the Paraitakai.

This account states that "their clothing consists of a linen tunic reaching to the feet, an upper garment, made of wool, and a white cloak; and they wear their hair long, and use a shoe (*sic*) that is like a buskin. They wear also a seal and carry a staff that is not plain but has a design on it, having on top an apple or rose or lily or something of the kind, and they anoint themselves with sesame."¹⁶⁰

About marriage it is observed that three wise men, appointed "as rulers of each tribe", ... "present in public marriagable girls, and sell them by auction to the bridegrooms, always selling first those who are more highly prized. Thus marriages are contracted; and every time they have intercourse with one another, they arise and go out, each apart from the other, to offer incense; and in the morning they bathe themselves before they touch any vessel for just as ablution is customary after touching a corpse, so also it is customary after intercourse."¹⁶¹

"They place the sick where roads meet and question those who pass by, on the chance that some one has a cure for malady; and no one of those who pass by is so base as not to suggest some cure when he falls in with them if he has any in mind..... They bewail the dead, like the Egyptians and many other nations; and bury their dead in honey, first besmearing them with wax."¹⁶²

The administration of each of the tribes (apparently including the Paraitakai) seems to have been headed by three wise men appointed as rulers by its members (?).¹⁶³ Another important feature of the administration was the existence of three tribunals. It is stated that "they have three tribunals, that of those

who are already freed from military service, and that of the most famous, and that of the old men, apart from that appointed by the king”¹⁶⁴ (Assyrian king?). “It is the duty of this last to give girls in marriage and to pass judgement in cases of adultery; and the duty of the another to pass judgement in cases of theft; and of a third to pass judgement in cases of assault.”¹⁶⁵

About the economic pursuits of the people in question, another section of book xvi of the *Geographikon* clearly states that “the Paraitakenoi are more interested in agriculture than the Cossaeans; but still even they themselves do not abstain from brigandage.”¹⁶⁶

The latter habit served as their source of income when they lived above Susa (?) and Babylonia, “on the north and towards the east.”¹⁶⁷ It has been shown above that the territory of the Paraitakenoi, mentioned here, was somewhere in the central zone of Western Persia (see above). The relevant section of the *Geographikon* refers to the Elymaei and the Paraitakenoi, “who are predatory peoples and rely on the ruggedness of their mountains.”¹⁶⁸ This country of the Paraitakenoi was probably a part of the Parthian empire.¹⁶⁹

According to a section of the *Geographikon*, the Paraitakenai once had their home in a region bounding Greater Media “on the east.”¹⁷⁰ We have suggested above that it is not clear whether the area concerned was somewhere in the central zone of Western Persia or somewhere to the north-east of the latter. Here also the Paraitakenoi were “mountaineers and predatory”.¹⁷¹

We have some information on the social and

economic conditions of the Pāradas in their different habitats in and near the Indian subcontinent. As it has already been recorded, certain Indian texts refer to the Pāradas as having been compelled by Sagara to keep their hair loose (*muktakeśa*).¹⁷² Though, as we have shown above, there is no reason to accept the alleged struggle between the Śakas, Pāradas, etc., and the Ikshvāku family as a historical fact, the information concerned may indicate that the person or persons responsible for incorporating the Pārada episode in the Sagara legends knew the habit of this people to keep their hair loose. Such an inference is substantiated by the fact that the royal busts on several of the Parata coins are shown as having long loose hair hanging down to the shoulders (see above Chapter II).

These coins portray the rulers as wearing fillet as well as flowing drapery (see above Chapter II). This might have been custom with the Pārada rulers and perhaps also with important personages of the tribe.

A section of the *Droṇa-parvan* of the *Mahābhārata* refers to the Yavanas, Pāradas, etc., as men having fierce eyes and looking like messengers of Death. These Pārada soldiers, who are described as "accomplished in smiting and conversant with the deceptive powers of the Asuras," are alleged to have participated in the Bhārata war.¹⁷³ Though there is no reason to believe in such a claim, this section of the epic betrays the knowledge of its author or authors of the warlike qualities of the Pāradas.

The appearance of the term *Parata-rāja* in the legends on coins attributed to the Jhelum district surely shows that at least the Parata territory of that region had a monarchical form of government. As these

coin legends do not give any regal title to the fathers of the ruling kings (see Chapter II), it is not clear whether the monarchy was hereditary, or not.

A section of the *Sabhāparvan* of the *Mahābhārata*, which locates the territory of the Pāradas on the other (western) side of the Indus and also near the sea (see above), describes them and also a few other peoples as living "on crops that depend on water from sky or the river." They and some other peoples are said to have brought to the court of the Pāṇḍava prince Yudhisṭhira tributes consisting of goats, kine, asses, camels, vegetable, honey, blankets, jewels and gems of various kinds.¹⁷⁴

Another section of the *Sabhāparvan* refers to the Pāradas and some other tribes living on the banks of the Śailodā river (i.e. the Khotan river or a river in Western Tibet ?) (see above) as having brought to Yudhisṭhira as tribute "heaps of gold, measured in *droṇas*, and raised from underneath the earth by ants and therefore called after these creatures".¹⁷⁵

There is no valid reason to believe that the Pāradas really paid such tributes to Yudhisṭhira. Nevertheless, these references may indicate the familiarity of the author or authors of the sections concerned with the economic products of or articles of trade known to the different habitats of the Pāradas. Their knowledge was utilised for composing the story concerning the tributes brought by various tribes to the court of Yudhisṭhira.

It is perhaps interesting to note that gold dug up by ants is spoken of also in other sources.¹⁷⁶ The miners were described as ants probably because of the nature of their work.¹⁷⁷

We have already demonstrated that the *Periplus* *Tes Erythras Thalasses* locates a habitat of the Pāradas in an area including the coastal region of the Las Bela district of Baluchistan (see above). According to the author of the *Periplus*, bdellium, a marketable gum,¹⁷⁸ was found in large quantity in the coast of the country of the Pāradas.¹⁷⁹ Moreover, nard grew in great abundance in the Gedrosian desert near Ora during the days of Alexander.¹⁸⁰ The same might have been the case in later times.¹⁸¹ The *Periplus* refers to Orae (Ora) as a part of the Pārada territory,¹⁸² and mentions the export of nard from Barbaricum in Scythia.¹⁸³ The great commercial value of nard in the Roman world is attested to by Pliny.¹⁸⁴

It appears that in the age to which the above data collected by the author of the *Periplus* should be referred, the people of the Pārada country in Baluchistan traded in bdellium and nard. The information concerned may be dated to sometime in the 1st century A.D. (or in the early 2nd century A.D. ?).¹⁸⁵

The *Wei-Lüeh*, which is considered to have been composed between c. A.D. 239 and 265,¹⁸⁶ includes the cloth of Fei-ch'ih among the merchandise found in the Ta-chin.¹⁸⁷ E. Chavannes thinks that Fei-ch'ih should be identified with P'ai-ch'ih, since the character representing *Fei* (Fig. 26) may be considered as a variant of the character representing *P'ai* (Fig. 27).¹⁸⁸ It is indeed not impossible that the character representing *Fei* was the result of a scribal error. If this was the case, the cloth produced in or exported from or through the *P'ai-ch'ih* country was available in Ta-ch'in or the Roman Orient.¹⁸⁹

P'ai-ch'ih was also known as Wu-i-shan-li,¹⁹⁰ iden-

tifiable with the Seistan region.¹⁹¹ We have already suggested that the name *P'ai-ch'ih* may refer to the Paratas (see above). This means that a kind of cloth produced in and/or exported from (or through) a habitat of the Paratas (*Pāratas* or *Pāradas*) in the Seistan area found market in the Oriental provinces of the Roman empire in a period to which the above information of the author of the *Wei-Lüeh* should be dated. This commodity was probably exported through or from the Seistan region to a locality on the Gulf of Persia and thence to the Roman Orient through a maritime route.¹⁹²

Another economic product, which is well-known even in modern times, should also be referred to in this connection. It is known in Sanskrit and several modern Indian languages by the same name or by the terms derived from the same name as that of the *Pāradas*.¹⁹³ The word *pārada* denotes "mercury" as well as a people.

Pārada or mercury has been considered throughout the ages by different medical treatises as one of the most important ingredients of various kinds of drugs.¹⁹⁴ The extant portion of the *Charaka-saṃhitā*, which is a redaction of the treatise of Charaka,¹⁹⁵ does not use the term *pārada*, though it perhaps refers to mercury by the word *rasa*.¹⁹⁶ The extant *Śuśruta-saṃhitā*, which is considered to be a comparatively modern recension (done by Nāgārjuna) of an ancient work called the *Śuśruta-saṃhitā*,¹⁹⁷ contains a few vague references to mercury.¹⁹⁸ Nevertheless, at least once it mentions the word *pārada* in the sense of mercury.¹⁹⁹

Stylistically the extant *Śuśruta-saṃhitā* is to be

placed later than the extant *Charaka-saṁhitā*.²⁰⁰ Charaka may be identified with the physician Che-lochia (Charaka), who was a contemporary of the Kushāṇa king of Kanishka (I).²⁰¹ Hence the absence of the term *pārada* from a medical treatise like the *Charaka-saṁhitā* may suggest that it had not yet begun to be used at least regularly to denote mercury by the period of the original composition of that work during the reign of Kanishka I (A.D. 78-100/101).²⁰² Such a suggestion remains valid even after admitting that Charaka's text might have been based on the work of an earlier scholar called Agniveśa.²⁰³

The term *pārada*, began to mean "mercury" by the time of Nāgarjuna, whose date is, however, not quite certain.²⁰⁴ The *Nāmalingānuśāsana* of Amarasimha, better known as the *Amara-kosha*, surely uses the word *pārata* (*pārada*) in the sense of mercury.²⁰⁵ This treatise was translated by Gunarāta into Chinese in the 6th century A.D.²⁰⁶

It appears that the word *pārada* was included in the Indian medical vocabulary by sometime in the early centuries of the Christian era.²⁰⁷ The Pārada people was by that time present in the Indian sub-continent.

"Mercury is said to occur in" the Garmsel area of South-Western Afghanistan lying very close to Seistan,²⁰⁸ which was once a habitat of the Paraitas (Paratas or Pāradas) (see above). It is also interesting to note that a reference to the word *hiṅgula* (*hiṅgola*) or cinnabar, denoting the sulphide of mercury, can be found in the name of the pīṭha Hiṅgulā (modern Hing-laj) in the coastal part of the Las Bela district,²⁰⁹ which was once in a territory of the Pāradas (see above).

Hence it was not utterly impossible for the Pāradas to know the metal in question, particularly when, as indicated above, some of them followed the vocations of traders.

It may also be pointed out that in the Tibetan version of the *Mahāmāyūrī* the expression *dnul cchu*, meaning mercury, occurs in place of the name of the Pārata people appearing in the original.²¹⁰ This translation, and not transliteration, of the term *Pārata* may betray the translators' knowledge of the historical association of the Pārada people with mercury.²¹¹

We may perhaps tentatively infer from these data, that the mercury became known by the name *pārada* probably because the Pāradas dealt with the material as traders.

In the 11th century Kshīrasvāmī commented on the word *Pārada* as *piparti pārataḥ, pārām tanoti vā*.²¹² This and similar explanations of the term²¹³ were cropped up long after the Indian medical world had begun to use *pārada* (mercury) for curing different types of human illness.

C

The above survey of the available materials for reconstructing the history of the Pārata or Pārada people lead us to postulate certain interesting hypotheses.

It appears that the Paraitakenoi (Paratas) might have been originally a branch of the Median people.²¹⁴ They or a section of them ultimately migrated to the Indian subcontinent and its borderlands after living in parts of North-Western Persia, central zone of Western Persia, Transoxiana, a territory in the upper

borderlands between Persia and Afghanistan, Seistan, etc. The migration from one habitat to another was either total or partial. In the latter case a part of the people remained in a territory already colonised by it, while another part moved out of it in search of a new one.

The reasons for migrations of the Pāradas might have been different on different occasions. Vocations of some of them, viz., brigandage and trade, probably encouraged movement. The pressure of the overgrowth of population in any one of their small habitats and perhaps consequent shortage of food would also have forced a part of the people to search for a new home. Sometimes political factors might have also played their part.

Whatever might have been the reasons for their migration from one place to another, they probably used to establish a government whenever they occupied a territory. Sometimes such governments were managed by a chief or chiefs swearing allegiance to superior powers like the Assyrians, the Imperial Parthians, etc. But at times the Pāradas were governed by independent monarchs. For an example, we can refer to the kingdom in the Jhelum district ruled by the Parata kings. They also struck coins.

The warlike qualities of the Paraitakai (Paraitakenoi) are revealed by the fact that they had the courage to encounter Alexander the Great. The continuance of the political importance of the Pāradas or of a territory called after them even in a comparatively late period of their known history is indicated by the inclusion of the name of the Pāradānshāh along with those

of the Kushānshāh and Caesar in the list of rulers who congratulated (?) the Sasanian emperor Narseh.

We have already noted that some sections of the Pārada people followed the vocations of traders. Some of the articles dealt with by these traders might have been produced in one or several of their habitats. A variety of cloth which was exported to the Roman Orient was named after them. It is also not impossible that mercury became known as *pārada* after they had begun to trade in that metallic element.

The history of the migrations and settlements of this people can be traced from c. 7th century B.C. to about the 4th or 5th century A.D. After that the Pāradas in the Indian subcontinent at least merged with its population and probably lost their distinct ethnic identity. Their name, however, continued to appear in the stereotyped lists of peoples appearing in different texts of even early mediæval times.

The name *Pārata* (*Pārada*) might have remained associated with certain localities in early mediæval age. In course of enumerating eighty-four countries the *Kāvyaśikshā* of Vinayachandra speaks of *Saptatisa-harāṇi Gurjaro desaḥ Pārataścha*.²¹⁵ The Gurjara country in question may be placed in Southern Rajasthan,²¹⁶ and it may be argued that Pārata, referred to here, was contiguous to the Gurjara country. This may indicate the location of a territory called after the Pāratas in or near Rajasthan in the period of Vinayachandra. However, it must be admitted that it was possible for the territory in question to be associated with the name of the Pāratas long before the days of Vinayachandra. Thus though this evidence may suggest the migration of the Pāratas to a tract

in or near the area of modern Rajasthan at a certain stage of their history, it does not prove that the Pāratas were a living political power in the age of Vinayachandra. A section of them could have settled in the region concerned well within the period up to which we can definitely trace their political activities (see above).

It should be borne in mind that stray references to the name *Pārata* or *Pārada* in early or late mediæval sources do not by themselves prove the existence of the genuine Pāradas in the period or periods to which such sources are datable.²¹⁷ The validity of such an assumption is substantiated by the fact that the original meaning of the term *Pārata* or *Pārada* had become obscure by or before the 11th century A.D. (see above). The Pāratas or Pāradas mentioned in the mediæval sources could indeed have been inhabitants of the territory or territories named much earlier after the genuine Pāradas. As a parallel instance we can refer to the name *Kushāṇa*, which was applied in certain texts to persons, who were rulers or inhabitants of the region once ruled by the Kushāṇa branch of the Yüeh-chih.²¹⁸

D

Thus all the desirable details of the history of the Pāradas are not yet available to us. Nevertheless, the above study clearly shows that the Pāradas were a force to be reckoned with in parts of early Orient. They belonged to an ethnic group, quite distinct from the Śakas, Pahlavas (Parthians), etc. In fact, several verses in Indian texts mention the Pāradas along with the Pahlavas (Parthians), Śakas, etc.²¹⁹ So there cannot be

any solid basis for the theory suggesting that the "Pāradas were the Parthians who lived in the Khorasan region".²²⁰

To students of Indian history the Pāradas should appear, like the Śakas, Pahlavas, Kushāṇas, etc., as a foreign ruling tribe or race who dominated some parts of the subcontinent in different periods. As they were both foreign and tribal, their name should be added to the list of foreign dynasties and also to that of tribes who minted coins in India.

The above study allows us to examine the history of the Pāradas in its proper perspective. It can now be hoped that future discoveries and discussions will be conducive to the full emergence of the personality of the Pārada people.

NOTES

1. Herodotus, *History* [*Herodotou Istorai*], I, 101. In volume I of the Loeb Classical Library edition of the work of Herodotus (New York and London, 1921) we find the reading *Paretakenoi*. We have accepted the reading *Paraitakenoi*, which occurs in several other Greek writings.

2. *Ibid.*, I, 102 and 103; G. Grote, *History of Greece*, vol. III, p. 56.

3. Herodotus, *op. cit.*, I, 98.

4. *Journal of the Geographical Society*, vol. X, pt. I, article no. 1; H. G. Rawlinson, *History of Herodotus*, vol. I, p. 191, f.n. 9.

5. Herodotus, *op. cit.*, I, 110.

6. E. H. Bunbury, *A History of Ancient Geography* (2nd edition), vol. I, p. 258. Bunbury himself, however, favours the identification of Agbatana or Ecbatana with Hamadan.

7. Herodotus, *op. cit.*, I, 110. Strabo, who divided Media into Greater Media and Atropatian Media (*Strabo*, XI, 13, 1), located the latter to the east of Armenia and adjacent to the region around the recess of the Hyrcanian Sea, (*ibid.*, XI, 13, 2) i.e. the Caspian Sea. Between Armenia and Atropatian Media flowed the Araxes river (*ibid.*, XI, 13, 3) or modern Araks. Greater Media was bounded on the east by *inter alia* Parthia and the lands of the Cossaei and Elmaei (*ibid.*, XI, 13, 6) and extended from the Medic Gate on the Mount Zagrus to the Caspian Gates (*ibid.*, XI, 13, 8). It also included Apameia and Rhaga (*ibid.*, XI, 13, 6), both of which were not far from the Caspian Gates (Isidore of Charax, *Stathmoi Parthikoi*, secs. 7-8). So the Greater Media lay between the Araxes and the Caspian Gates.

8. C. Lewis, J. D. Cambell, D. P. Blackmore and K. F. Cook, *The Oxford Atlas* (1956), pl. 57.

9. R. G. Kent, *Old Persian Grammar Texts Lexicon*, pp. 6 f.

10. Arrian, *Anabaseos Alexandrou*, IV, 25, 6.

11. R. G. Kent, *op. cit.*, p. 51.

12. *Ibid.* In this connection see also F. Edgerton, "The K-suffixes of Indo-Iranian. Pt. I—The K-suffixes in Veda and Avesta", *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, 1911, vol. XXXI, pp. 94, 96-98 and 310.

13. See above n. 12.

14. See above n. 11.

15. See below nn. 31 and 138.

16. C. D. Buck, *Comparative Grammar of Greek and Latin*, p. 88; R. G. Kent, *op. cit.*, p. 27. If Herodotus is considered to allude to the form *Paretakenoi* (see above n. 1), the expression *Pareta*—in Greek would suggest *Parata* in Sanskritic sources. But see also above n. 1.

17. *Ptolemy*, VII, 1, 17; *Bharata, Nāṭyaśāstra* (Kāvyamālā edition), XIII, 17; *Strabo*, XV, 1, 27; etc. The *Periplus* furnishes the form *Masal(ia)* (sec. 62). Should we take *-iii(s)* of *Peukolaitis* as a case of epenthesis?

18. By adding the Old Indian suffix *-ka* (*-ika*) to *Parata* we get the form *Pāratika*. A regressive metathesis of the letter *i* may transform *Pāratika* into *Pāraitka* (R. G. Kent, *op. cit.*, p. 21; in this connection see also I. Greschevitch, *A Grammar of Manichaean Sogdian*, p. 65, sec. 430). *Pāraitka* could have been pronounced as *Parait'ka* or *Paraitōka* and could have been transcribed in Greek as Π α ρ α ι τ α κ α (ι).

The form* *Pāraitakāna* can be obtained by adding the suffix *-ana* (*-āna*) to *Pāraitaka*. On the analogy of the evidence of *Assakāna* written as *Assaken(oi)* in Greek literature; *Pāraitakāna* could be rendered in Greek as Π α ρ α ι τ α κ ε ν (οι).

Though these philological arguments may not appear fully convincing, we should take note of them in view of the historical connection between the forms *Paraitas* and *Paratas*.

19. W. W. Goodwin, *A Greek Grammar*, p. 15. See also above n. 11.

20. *Strabo*, XVI, 1, 31.

21. W. Jones, *The Geography of Strabo*, vol. VIII, p. 197.

22. L. H. Grollenberg, *Atlas of the Bible* (1st edition, reprint, 1963), pp. 9 and 158; C. Lewis et al., *op. cit.*, pl. 52.

23. L. H. Grollenberg, *op. cit.*, p. 97; P. Sykes, *A History of Persia* (3rd edition, reprint, 1963), p. 125.

24. *Strabo*, XV, 3, 6.

25. C. Lewis et al., *op. cit.*, pl. 52.

26. *Strabo*, XI, 12, 4. It appears from the context that this information of Strabo was based on that of Eratosthenes.

27. *Ibid.*, XVI, 1, 8.

28. *Ibid.*, XV, 3, 12.

29. C. Lewis et al., *op. cit.*, pl. 57.

30. *Ibid.*

31. Arrian, *op. cit.*, III, 19, 1-5.

32. *Ibid.*, III, 19, 2.
33. *Strabo*, XV, 3, 12.
34. *Ibid.*, XVI, 1, 18.
35. P. Sykes, *op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 321.
36. *Strabo*, XI, 13, 6. It appears from the context that Nearchus was Strabo's authority for this statement.
37. A. A. R. Van Der Heyden and H. H. Scullard, *Atlas of the Classical World* (1st edition, 3rd impression), map no. 26; C. Lewis et al., *op. cit.*, pl. 52.
38. *Strabo*, XVI, 1, 17. Was Strabo's statement based on an information supplied by Nearchus? (See *ibid.*, XV, 1, 15). In this connection see also *ibid.*, XV, 2, 8, which states that Ariana's "parts on the west are marked by the same boundaries by which Parthia is separated from Media and Carmania from Paraitakenoi and Persis."
39. W. H. Schoff, *Parthian Stations by Isidore of Charax*, p. 30; C. Lewis et al., *op. cit.*, pl. 52.
40. J. B. Bury, *A History of Greece* (Modern Library edition), p. 781. See also below n. 128 and *Pauly*, vol. XVIII, 3, col. 1182.
41. Arrian, *op. cit.*, IV, 21, 1f; J. B. Bury, *op. cit.*, p. 781.
42. Arrian, *op. cit.*, IV, 21, 1-2.
43. *Ibid.*, IV, 21, 2-10.
44. *Ibid.*, IV, 22, 1-2.
45. Alexander apparently found the Paraitakai between Persepolis and Ecbatana as a settled people. So at least a branch of them should have come to the territory concerned appreciably earlier than his invasion. Ptolemy might have placed one of the habitats of the Paraitakenoi in or near this area. According to a section of his *Geographike Huphegesis* "the region of Persia which is near Media is called Paraitakenoi, from which towards the south are the Mesabatae and the Rapsi, below whom is Misida, and as far as the sea Mardycena and Taocena" (*Ptolemy*, VI, 4). This statement of Ptolemy might, like many of his observations, have been based on an information of a much earlier date.
46. W. H. Schoff, *op. cit.*, p. 17; *ASSIPH*, pp. 211-215.
47. W. W. Goodwin, *op. cit.*, p. 37. According to a theory of W. W. Tarn, an *-ene* termination was added in many classical texts to different geographical and ethnic names (W. W. Tarn, *The Greeks in Bactria and India* (2nd edition), pp. 3 and 442-445). If this hypothesis is found acceptable to any other scholar,

he may argue for the presence of the same termination in the form *Paraitakene*.

48. Isidore of Charax, *Stathmoi Parthikoi*, sec. 18.

49. W. H. Schoff, *op. cit.*, p. 32.

50. Pliny is known to have used much old information (see *NH*, VI, 27, 107; VI, 28, 109; etc.). For his information on Parthia, in course of describing which he speaks of the Paraetaceni, he utilised, among others, the data furnished by Juba (*ibid.*, VI, 30, 124).

51. *Ibid.*, VI, 29, 116; cf. *Strabo*, XVI, 1, 17, which refers to the land of the Paraitakenoi as bordering the Persians. Another section of the *Naturalis Historia* states that "Mount Zagrus extends as far as Chalonitis from Armenia, coming between the Medes and the Adiabeni above Paraetacene and Persida". (*NH*, VI, 31, 1, 31; cf. *Strabo*, XVI, 1, 17).

52. *NH*, VI, 29, 112-113.

53. A. Herrmann, *Historical and Commercial Atlas of China*, pl. 17, no. I, b, z and c 2; J. W. McCrindle, *Ancient India as Described in Classical Literature*, pp. 80 f., and 81, f.n. 1. Ariana sometimes included the land of the Arii.

54. C. D. Buck, *op. cit.*, pp. 87-88. The inflected form *Azou* in the Greek legends on several Scytho-Parthian coins suggests the stem as *Aza* or *Azo*, both of which expressions were undoubtedly based on the name *Aza*, a variant of which (*Aya*) occurs in the Kharōshīhī inscriptions on the same species (*PMC*, vol. I, p. 104). Hence *Paraitakeno* may be equated with *Paraitakena*.

55. *Strabo*, XI, 8, 2.

56. *ASSIPH*, pp. 70-72.

57. *HHS*, ch. 118, p. 4; *T'oung Pao*, 1907, s. II, vol. VIII, pp. 175-176.

58. *Wei-Lüeh*; *T'oung Pao*, 1905, s. II, vol. VI, p. 555.

59. *HHS*, ch. 118; *T'oung Pao*, 1907, s. II, vol. VIII, p. 168; *Our Heritage*, 1967, vol. XV, pt. II, p. 5.

60. *T'oung Pao*, 1905, vol. VI, p. 519.

61. *Ibid.*, p. 555, f.n. 7.

62. *Ibid.*, p. 555 and f.n. 7.

63. *ASSIPH*, p. 135, n. 184. There is no definite evidence in favour of the theory which wants to locate Wu-i-shan-li in Arachosia.

64. B. N. Mukherjee, *Kanishka I and the Deccan (The Kushāṇas and the Deccan, pt. I)*, pp. 123f.

65. The name of the bay in question appears in the Heidelberg manuscript of the *Periplus* as *τερεβδίων*. As the existence of no such bay is known and as the description of the location of the bay should place it near Gedrosia, we may accept provisionally the emended reading *Γεδρωσων* (H. Frisk, *Le Périple de la Mer Érythrée*, p. 12, and f.n. 14).

66. The name of the city is inserted in different editions and translations as Rambakia or Parsis (H. Frisk, *op. cit.*, p. 12, f.n. 18; Schoff, *Periplus*, p. 37; etc.). No such name, however, occurs in the Heidelberg manuscript of the *Periplus*. In fact, this manuscript does not at all mention the name of the city in question.

67. Schoff, *Periplus*, pp. 36-37; *Periplus*, sec. 37.

68. *Periplus*, sec. 37; Frisk, *op. cit.*, p. 12 and f.n. 13.

69. See H. Frisk, *op. cit.*, p. 12, f.n. 13.

70. *Ibid.*, p. 12; W. H. Schoff, *Periplus*, p. 36; etc.

71. Apparently one and the same people is mentioned as *Pārada* in several *Purāṇas* and as *Pārata* in the *Bṛīhat-saṁhitā* (see below). Such an interchange of consonants is permitted by grammatical rules of some classes of Prakrit.

72. For a similar example, we can cite the name *Bhārata*, denoting (the land) belonging to Bharata, the mythical ruler. The derivation of *Pārata* from *Parata* or of *Pārada* from *Parada* is in accordance with a rule of Sanskrit grammar (*Parata + an* or *Parada + an*).

73. *Periplus*, sec. 38.

74. Schoff, *Periplus*, p. 161. According to another view, the river in question may be identified with the modern Hab (*The Geographical Journal*, 1943, vol. CII, p. 213).

75. Arrian, *op. cit.*, VI, 21-22; Schoff, *Periplus*, p. 161.

76. *Monthly Bulletin of the Asiatic Society*, January, 1968, vol. III, no. 1, p. 5.

77. See above no. 64.

78. We may record here that A. Stein visited a locality called Pardān-damb near Sraduk and not far from Panjgur in Western Baluchistan. He noticed there remains of three successive stone embankments (A. Stein, *An Archaeological Tour in Gedrosia*, *MASI*, no. 43, p. 45). We do not know whether the name *Pardān-damb* commemorates its association with the *Pāradas*, and, if this is the case, whether such an evidence indicates a stage in their migration from Seistan to the interior region and also to the coastal area of Baluchistan.

79. W. Winternitz, *A History of Indian Literature* (translated by Mrs. Ketkar), vol. I, p. 465.

80. *Mahābhārata*, II, 47, 9-10. For variants in the reading (like—*nishkuṭe* in place of *nikaṭe*, *pāresindhu* or *paritaḥ sindhu* (*vāsinaḥ*) in place of *Parisindhu*, etc., see the critical edition of the *Sabhāparvan* of the epic published by the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona.

81. E. H. Bunbury, *op. cit.*, vol. II, pp. 546-548; W. W. Tarn, *op. cit.*, p. 231; B. N. Mukherjee, *Kanishka I and the Deccan* (*The Kushānas and the Deccan*, pt. I), pp. 128-130; etc.

82. *Ptolemy*, VI, 21, 1 and 4.

83. *Ibid.*

84. *Syria*, 1958, p. 336.

85. *Ptolemy*, VII, I, 55; S. N. Majumdar Sastri (editor), *McCrimdell's Ancient India as Described by Ptolemy*, pp. 139-140; *ASSIPH*, pp. 37-38 and 56; etc.

86. In this connection see W. W. Tarn, *op. cit.*, pp. 442-445.

87. *Ptolemy*, VI, 21, 4.

88. There is no reason to believe, following E. Herzfeld (*Paikuli*, p. 230), that Ptolemy was wrong in locating Paradene in Gedrosia. In this connection see also C. Lassen, *Indische Alterthumskunde*, vol. I, p. 1028.

For arguments against the plausibility of identifying Paradene with modern Pahrā between Makran and Kirman, see *Erānshahr*, pp. 30-31 and 180-182.

89. Naqsh-i-Rustam inscription of Shāpūr I—Greek text, ll. 4 and 42; Parthian text, ll. 2 and 42; Pahlavi text, ll. 3 and 42; A. Maricq and H. Honigmann, *Recherches sur les Res Gestae Divi Saporis*, pp. 11, 12, and 40; *American Journal of Semitic Language and Literature*, 1940, vol. LVII, pp. 385-386; *BSOAS*, 1937-39, vol. IX, p. 848, n. 6. The spelling *Twrsin*, denoting the same country in a Persepolis inscription, is probably wrong (*BSOAS*, 1937-39, vol. IX, p. 848, f.n. 6).

90. A. Maricq and H. Honigmann, *op. cit.*, p. 97, f.n. 3; see also above n. 89.

91. A. Maricq and H. Honigmann, *op. cit.*, p. 97.

92. *Hudūd al-'Ālam*, XXVII, 12; V. Minorsky (translator), *Hudūd al-'Ālam*, p. 123.

93. V. Minorsky, *op. cit.*, p. 373. See also H. M. Elliot and J. Dowson, *The History of India as Told by its Own Historians*, vol. I (reprint), p. 385.

94. *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, 1945, vol. LXV, pp. 77 and f.n. 74; *BSOAS*, 1937-39, vol. IX, p. 561. The name *Kushāna* is written in the Parthian version of the Naqsh-i-Rustam inscription as *Kwshn*.

95. *BSOAS*, 1937-39, vol. IX, p. 553f, especially pp. 561-564. Prof. Henning wants to confine the use of the form *Tuγr* to the "east" only. But note the Middle Persian form *Twγrst(n)* (*BSOAS*, 1935-37, vol. VIII, p. 888).

96. *Revue Numismatique*, 1910, pl. III, no. 2.

97. B. N. Mukherjee, *The Kushāna Genealogy* (*Studies in Kushāna Genealogy and Chronology*, vol. I), pp. 23f.

98. *BSOAS*, 1937-39, vol. IX, p. 845.

99. A. Maricq and H. Honigmann, *op. cit.*, p. 107, n. 5.

100. It appears from the *Tārīkh al-rusūl Wa'l-mulūk* of Al-Ṭabarī that the king of Tūrān submitted to Ardashīr (I) not long after latter's victory over Ardawān (edition of de Goeje, p. 819).

101. *BSOAS*, 1946, vol. XI, pp. 20-24 and 38-39.

102. We do not know the motive behind the Yüeh-chih advent in the region. However, it may be noted, as we have done above, that according to the author of the *Periplus*, bdellium, a marketable gum (*Periplus*, secs. 39 and 48), was found in large quantity in the coast of the country of the Parodai (*ibid.*, sec. 37). Moreover, nard grew in great abundance in the Gedrosian desert near Ora during the days of Alexander (Arrian, *op. cit.*, VI, 21-22). The same might have been the case in later times. The *Periplus* refers to Oraea = Ora as a part of the Parodai = Pārada territory and mentions the export of nard from Barbarikon in Scythia (*Periplus*, secs. 37 and 39). The great commercial value of nard in the Roman world of the 1st century A.D. is attested to by Pliny (*NH*, XII, 26, 43).

Hence commercial considerations might have been among the forces prompting the Yüeh-chih activities in the existing Parodai = Pārada territory. However, if the Yüeh-chih dominance in that country implies its inclusion within the Kushāna empire, then such an implication was lost before final dissolution of the latter. For Al-Ṭabarī refers to a king of Tūrān, and also to a Kūshān monarch as offering submission to Ardashīr (I).

103. *Syria*, 1958, p. 336.

104. A. Maricq and H. Honigmann, *op. cit.*, p. 99; *The Imperial Gazetteer of India*, vol. XXVI—*Atlas*, 1931, pl. 37.

105. *Monthly Bulletin of the Asiatic Society*, August, 1966, vol. I, no. 3, pp. 5-6.

106. Al Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh al-rusūl wa'l-mulūk* (edited by M. J. de Goeje), p. 819; Th.-Nöldeke, *Geschichte der Perser und Araber zur Zeit der Sasaniden, aus der arabischen Chronik des Tabari*, pp. 15f.

107. *Paikuli*, vol. I, pp. 117f.

108. *Ibid.*, pp. 117-119.

109. E. Herzfeld, *Kushano-Sasanian Coins*, *MASI*, no. 38, pp. 32f.

110. The Kalsi version of the rock edict no. XIII of Aśoka is considered to refer to a people called Pālada (E. Hultzsch, *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, vol. I, pp. 44 and 48). H. C. Raychaudhuri thinks that the forms Pālada in the Kalsi version and Pārinda in the Girnar recension "remind us of the Pāradas" (H. C. Raychaudhuri, *Political History of Ancient India*, 5th edition, p. 313). The correct reading of the word concerned in the Kalsi version is, however, Palideshu or Pālideshu (E. Hultzsch, *op. cit.*, pl. facing p. 50, l. 10). The form Palideshu surely occurs in the Shahbazgarhi version of the rock edict XIII. The fact that the term in question appears in this edict along with the name of the Andhras may suggest that it should better be related to the name of the Pulindas, since, as G. Buhler has pointed out, the Andhras and the Pulindas are mentioned together in the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*, VII, 18 (ZDMG, 1886, vol. XL, p. 138). It may also be added that the Pulindas can be placed in the Vindhya region and the Andhras in the Deccan. Hence the form Pālada or rather Palida or Pālida probably had no historical connection with the name of the Pāradas, though philologically the term Pālada can be related to the word Pārada.

We may add here that the name Pārada probably had no historical connection either with the word Pārdāyanī appearing in the comments made by the Mahābhāṣhya of Patañjali (4, 2, 99) on a sūtra of Pāṇini (*Kaṣīyā sphak*) or with the term Parādāta occurring in the Avestan literature (C. Bartholomae, *Altiranische Wörterbuch*, col. 854).

111. Ptolemy, VII, 1, 58; L. Renou, *La Géographie de Ptolémé l'Inde* (VII, 1-4), p. 26 and f.n. 12.

112. Ptolemy, VII, 1, 57.

113. *BSOAS*, 1952, vol. XIV, p. 83. Asigramma and Paradabathra are included in Indo-Scythia as described by Ptolemy

(Ptolemy, VII, 1, 55-61). The provinces of Indo-Scythia are enumerated as Patalene (i.e., the Indus delta), Syrastrène (i.e., Surāshṭra) and Sabeiria (Sauvīra to the east of the lower Indus) or Aberia [or Abiria (territory of the Ābhīras ?)]. Some towns of Indo-Scythia were, however, outside the limits of these provinces as known from sources earlier than the date of the composition of Ptolemy's treatise (see *ASSIPH*, pp. 56-57, n. 40).

114. *BSOAS*, 1952, vol. XIV, pp. 83-84. Had the expression in question been *Paradabothra* we could have suggested that the Indian base was *Pāradaputra* (cf. *Palibothra* < *Pāliputra* = *Pāṭaliputra*).

115. M. Monier-Williams, *A Sanskrit-English Dictionary* (1951), p. 585.

116. *Syria*, 1958, p. 336; B. N. Mukherjee, *The Kushāṇa Genealogy* (*Studies in Kushāṇa Genealogy and Chronology*, vol. I), p. 86.

There is some similarity between the names of the Parata king Hvaramira, who ruled in the Jhelum area, and that of Shahi Yolamira, mentioned in fragmentary Kharoshthī inscriptions on certain jars unearthed at Tor Dherai in the Loralai district of Baluchistan and dated to a period about or after A.D. 200 (*CII*, vol. II, pt. I, pp. 173-176). There is, however, no evidence to connect Yolamira with the Paratas.

117. It is sometimes suggested that certain tribes of North-Western India were to some extent responsible for the downfall of the Kushāṇa empire (A. S. Altekar and R. C. Majumdar (editors), *The Vākātaka-Gupta Age*, p. 26). It is claimed that the legend *Yaudheyaganasya jaya* on a series of the coins of the Yaudheyas indicates their success against the Kushāṇas. But such a legend does not necessarily prove that the Yaudheyas fought against a living Kushāṇa empire. Some tribes might have raised their heads within the limits of the Indian provinces of the Kushāṇa empire when it had become virtually extinct after its submission to the Sasanids. The tribes in question, including the Yaudheyas, might have danced on the corpse of the Kushāṇa empire.

118. *Mahābhārata*, II, 48, 12-16.

119. *Rāmāyaṇa*, IV, 42, 11; D. R. Mankad (editor), *The Kiskindhyākāṇḍa, The Fourth Book of the Vālmiki Rāmāyaṇa, The National Epic of India*, vol. IV, pp. 272-273, f.n. 11—manuscripts N 2, V, B and D 7.

120. *Journal Asiatique*, 1915, p. 24.

121. *Ibid.*, p. 55. In the Chinese translations the name of the Pāratas are transliterated as *Po-lo-to*, *Po-lo-ti*, etc. The Tibetan version renders the name as *ḍṇul-cchu*, meaning "mercury" (*ibid.*).

122. *Bṛihat-saṃhitā*, XIV, 21.

123. *Ibid.*, XVI, 4.

124. *Ibid.*, XVI, 13.

125. *Ibid.*, XVI, 22.

126. In this connection see also J. F. Fleet, "The Topographical List of the *Bṛihat-Saṃhitā*"; *Indian Antiquary*, 1893, vol. XXII, p. 187. It is interesting to note that the *Bṛihat-saṃhitā*, X, 7, states that "if Śānaischāra resides in Maghā-nakṣatra troubles are caused to the Bahlikas, Chīnas, Gāndhāras, Śūlikas, Pāratas, Vaiśyas, treasuries and merchants." The *Bṛihat-saṃhitā*, X, 5, speaks of the trouble caused to Pārataramaṭha (or Pāratarāmaṭha) if Śānaischāra resides in Ādrā-nakṣatra. Utpala takes the expression *Pārataramaṭha* as standing for *Pāratarā* and *Maṭha*. But it may better be considered as referring to *Pārata* and *Ramatha* (A. Mitra-Sastri, *India as Seen in the Bṛihat-Saṃhitā of Varāha-Mihira*, p. 93).

127. *Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa* (Vaṅgavāsī edition), 49, 49 (?); *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa* (Bibliotheca Indica Series, Calcutta), 57, 37-39; *Brahma Purāṇa* (Vaṅgavāsī edition), 27, 46; etc. etc. See also D. C. Sircar, "Puranic List of Peoples", *Studies in the Geography of Ancient and Mediaeval India*, p. 24. It is interesting to note that some manuscripts of the *Vāyu Purāṇa* have the form *Parita* in place of *Parata* (Vaṅgavāsī, Venkaṭeśvara Press, Ānandāśrama and Bibliotheca Indica editions). Though the spelling *Parita* is apparently the result of a scribal error, it reminds us one of the form *Pareita(kai)* used by Arrian.

128. We may, however, record here that a section of the Mahābhārata (II, 48, 2-7) includes Pāradas, Kulindas, etc., among the peoples who "dwell by the side of the river Śailodā flowing between the mountains Meru and Mandāra and enjoy the pleasant shadows of Kīchaka bamboo". If the river Śailodā has been correctly identified by Lévi with the Khotan river (S. Lévi, "Ptolemeé, le Niddesa et la Bṛhatkathā," *Études Asiatiques*, 1925, vol. II, pp. 41-42), then a habitat of the Pāradas may be placed in the Sinkiang region of China and above the northern frontiers of Tibet and Kashmir. On the other hand, if F. E. Pargiter is right in locating the river in Western Tibet

(F. E. Pargiter, *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa* (translation), p. 351), a territory of the Pāradas may be placed there. A section of them might have migrated there either from the Indian borderlands or from Transoxiana or from North-Western India. It must, however, be noted that as the problem of identification of the Śailodā is not yet solved, the habitat in question cannot be precisely located. F. E. Pargiter himself placed the Pāradas in the western portion of the Himalayas (F. E. Pargiter, *op. cit.*, p. 317, f.n.).

Some *Purāṇas* refer to the countries of the Pāradas, Lampākas, etc., as being irrigated by the river Chakshu (*Matsya Purāṇa* (Vaṅgavāsī edition), 121, 45-46; *Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa* (Vaṅgavāsī edition), 51, 48-49 (?); etc.; see also E. Sachau, *Alberuni's India*, vol. I, p. 261). The Chakshu is sought to be identified with the Vakshu or the Oxus (D. C. Sircar, *Studies in the Geography of Ancient and Mediaeval India*, p. 61, f.n.).

As there is some palaeographic similarity between the Brāhmī letters *cha* and *va* during the period in which a few of these *Purāṇas* attained their substantially present forms, the relevant scribe or scribes, ignorant of the name of the Vakshu, could have misspelt it as *Chakshu*. However, in that case the authors of the *Purāṇas* should be considered to have been wrong in placing the Lampākas on the Oxus. Their country was in the Lamghan area. Again, even if a habitat of the Pāradas is taken to have been once on the Oxus, it cannot be precisely located. Nevertheless, it is interesting to note that Arrian placed the Pareitakai in a tract between the Oxus and the Jaxartes (see above n. 41). If a habitat of the Paratas (Pāradas) as well as of the Pareitakai can be located in Transoxiana, and if the Paraitakai can be identified or connected with the Paratas (see above), the form *Pareitakai* may perhaps be related to the expression *Paraitakai*. (For various examples of corruption of the name *Parata*, see above n. 127).

129. *Manu-śmṛiti*, X, pp. 43-44.

130. *Harivaṁśa* (edited by R. Kinjawadekar), XIV, 1-19; *Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa* (Śrī Veṅkaṭeśvara edition), III, 63, 120f; *Vāyu Purāṇa* (Gurumaṇḍala edition), *Pūrvārdha*, 88, 122f; *Brahma Purāṇa* (Vaṅgavāsī edition), 8, 29f; *Śiva Purāṇa* (Vaṅgavāsī edition), VI, 61, 23f.

131. R. C. Majumdar (editor), *The Age of the Imperial Unity*, p. 256.

132. *Ibid.*, p. 251; The *Harivaṁśa* forms a sort of an appendix to the *Mahābhārata*. The great epic "cannot have received its present form earlier than the 4th century B.C. or later than the 4th century A.D." (M. Winternitz, *A History of Indian Literature* (translated by Mrs. Ketkar), vol. I, p. 465). E. W. Hopkins thinks that the great epic "was practically completed by 200 A.D." (E. W. Hopkins, *The Great Epic of India*, p. 398).

133. See above n. 130. See also the *Vishṇu Purāṇa* (Vaṅgavāsī edition), IV, 3, 15-21; *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* (edited by V. Basu), IX, 8, 2-6; *Bṛhannāradya* (Vaṅgavāsī edition), VII, 40-90; VIII, 1-62.

134. See above n. 130. See also the *Harivaṁśa*, XIII, 30f. and the *Mahābhārata*, III, 106, 8.

135. For a critical edition of the text of the story in question see W. Kirfel, *Das Purāṇa Pañchalakṣaṇa (Versuch einer Textgeschichte)*, pp. 325-329. For discussions on this story see F. E. Pargiter, "Ancient Indian Genealogies and Chronology", *JRAS*, 1910, pp. 10f; "Earliest Indian Traditional History", *JRAS*, 1914, pp. 280f; *Ancient Indian Historical Tradition* (1962), pp. 267-268; D. C. Sircar, "Sagara's Adversaries", *JAS*, 1962, vol. IV, no. 2, pp. 49-54; etc.

136. The *Vishṇu Purāṇa* states that "thus separated from religious rites and abandoned by the Brāhmaṇas, these different tribes became Mlecchhas".

137. There is no corroborative and reliable evidence in support of the theory that the Haihayas attacked the kingdom of Ayodhyā, where Bāhu ruled, "with the co-operation of the Sakas, Yavanas, Kāmbojas, Pāradas and Pahlavas from the north-west" (F. E. Pargiter, *Ancient Indian Historical Tradition* (1962), pp. 267-268).

138. *Mahābhārata*, III, 104, 6-7.

139. *JAS*, 1962, vol. IV, no. 2, p. 51.

140. F. E. Pargiter, *Ancient Indian Historical Tradition* (1962), p. 147; *Matsya Purāṇa* (Vaṅgavāsī edition), XII, 40-50.

141. M. Winternitz, *op. cit.*, pp. 500-517.

142. *Rāmāyana*, I, 69, 24-30.

143. A statement in the *Mahābhārata*, VI, which describes the Yavanas, Pāradas, Śakas, Vāhlikas and Mlecchhas as having been born of the cow (belonging to Vaśiṣṭha), may be considered as an attempt to ascribe Indian origin to these peoples.

144. M. Monier-Williams suggested that "as these were probably powerful warlike tribes, they are declared by Manu to be outcaste Kshatriyas" (M. Monier-Williams, *Indian Wisdom* (2nd edition), pp. 236-237).

145. In the *Mahābhārata* the Pāradas are said to have assisted Droṇa, the general of the Kauravas (*Mahābhārata*, *Bhishmaparvan*, 87), and also Duryodhana, the Kaurava prince (*ibid.*, *Droṇaparvan*, 111), and are included among the forces which attacked Arjuna, the Pāṇḍava prince (*ibid.*, *Droṇaparvan*, 93). It is needless to add that such statements in the great epic, which is known to contain imaginative stories, cannot be taken, in the absence of more reliable evidence, as factually correct.

A Nasik inscription of the time of the Kshaharāta ruler Nahapāna refers to a river called Pārādā (*EI*, vol. VIII, pp. 78f). It has been identified with the Pardī or Par river in the Surat district (*Archaeological Survey of Western India*, vol. IV, p. 109, f.n. 2). V. A. Smith wanted to locate, on the basis of this evidence, the Pārada country in the Surat district ("The Conquests of Samudragupta", *JRAS*, 1898, p. 899). Such an inference implies the presence of the Pāradas in that area by the time of Nahapāna (B. N. Mukherjee, *Kanishka I and the Deccan* (*The Kushānas and the Deccan*, pt. 1), p. 104). The river Pārādā seems to be referred to as Pārā in the *Bṛiḥat-saṁhitā*, XVI, 10 (see the *Indian Antiquary*, 1893, vol. XXII, p. 187). The Pārā or Parā, mentioned in some of the *Purāṇas* as issuing out of the Pāriyātra, and the Parā, mentioned by Al-Bīrūnī on the authority of the *Vāyu Purāṇa* as rising in the same mountain, may be identified either with the Pārādā or with the modern Pārvatī, a tributary of the Chambal [*Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa* (Bibliotheca Indica Series), 57, 20; p. 295, f.n.; E. Sachau, *op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 257; D. C. Sircar, "Puranic List of Rivers", *Studies in the Geography of Ancient and Mediaeval India*, p. 46]. It is interesting to note that the *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa*, 57, 17, includes a river called Parā in the list of the rivers rising in the Himalayas (see also E. Sachau, *op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 259). In this connection see also below n. 215.

146. F. E. Pargiter, *The Purāṇa Text of the Dynasties of the Kali Age* (1913), pp. XXVI f; D. C. Sircar, "Puranic List of Peoples", *Studies in the Geography of Ancient and Mediaeval India*, pp. 18-19.

147. Al-Bīrūnī, *Tahqīq-i-Hind* (edited by E. Sachau), p. 155; E. Sachau, *Alberuni's India* (reprint), vol. I, p. 302.

148. E. Sachau, *Alberuni's India* (reprint), vol. I, p. IX.
149. Yādavaprakāśa, *Vaijayantī* (edited by G. Oppert), *Bhūmikāṇḍa*, *Deśādhyāya*, pp. 37, 1, 28.
150. G. Oppert, *op. cit.*, Introduction; D. C. Ganguly, "Yādavaprakāśa on the Ancient Geography of India". *The Indian Historical Quarterly*, 1943, vol. XIX, p. 214.
151. Al-Birūnī, *op. cit.*, p. 152; E. Sachau, *Alberuni's India* (reprint), vol. I, p. 300.
152. C. A. Lewis, "Yādavaprakāśa on the Ancient Geography of India—A Reappraisal", *Our Heritage*, 1959, vol. VII, pt. I, p. 3.
153. H. Kern, *The Bṛihat Saṁhitā of Varāha Mihira*, p. 4.
154. H. D. Sharma and N. G. Sardesai, *Śrīmadamarasiṁha-virachitaṁ Nāmaliṅgānuśāsanam* (Poona Oriental Series, no. 43), p. 222.
155. Amarasīṁha, *Nāmaliṅgānuśāsana*, *Dvīṭyaṁ Bhūmyādikāṇḍam*, *Vaiśyavargaḥ*, 99.
156. H. D. Sharma and N. G. Sardesai (editors), *op. cit.*, p. V.
157. For observations on the Medes, see G. Rawlinson, *op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 552.
158. *Strabo*, XVI, 1, 1.
159. *Ibid.*, XVI, 1, 19-20.
160. *Ibid.*, XVI, 1, 20.
161. *Ibid.*
162. *Ibid.*
163. *Ibid.*
164. *Ibid.*
165. *Ibid.*
166. *Ibid.*, XVI, 1, 18.
167. *Ibid.*, XV, 3, 12.
168. *Ibid.*
169. *Ibid.*, XI, 13, 6.
170. *Ibid.*
171. *Ibid.* *Strabo*, XV, 3, 12, apparently includes the country of Persis within the Parthian empire, and in *Strabo*, XV, 3, 13-22, there are discussions on the society, religion, administration, etc., of the Persians. But it is not clear as to whether these have any relevance to the history of the Paraitakenoi, when *Strabo*, XV, 3, 13, states that "the Persian customs are the same as those of these peoples (i.e. *races serving the Imperial Parthians*) and the Medes and several other peoples" (*Italics ours*).

172. *Harivaṃśa*, XIV, 16-19, (p. 40 of the edition prepared by R. Kunjawadekar, Poona, 1936).

173. *Mahābhārata*, *Droṇaparvan*, 93.

174. *Ibid.*, II, 47, 8-11.

175. *Ibid.*, II, 48.

176. Herodotus, *op. cit.*, III, 104; *Strabo*, XV, 1, 37; *NH*, XXXIII, 4, 21; C. Aelian, *Peri Zōōn Idiotetos*, III, 4; Dion Chrysostom, *Oratio*, XXXV, 434; etc. It is interesting to note that Pliny states in one place (*NH*, XI, 36, 111) that "these ants carry gold out of caves in the earth in the region of the Northern Indians called Dardae" (i.e. modern Dardistan near Baltistan of the Kashmir area). [In this connection see also S. N. Majumdar Sastri (editor), *op. cit.*, pp. 107-108]. *Strabo*, XV, 1, 37, connects the story of the gold-digging ants with the country beyond Hypanis (i.e. Beas).

177. It has been suggested that the description of gold miners as gold-digging ants tallies well with the customs and habits of the Tibetan miners of "present-day" (J. W. McCrindle, *Ancient India as Described in Classical Literature*, pp. 44-45, f.n. 3).

178. *Periplus*, secs. 39 and 48.

179. *Ibid.*, sec. 37.

180. Arrian, *op. cit.*, VI, 21-22.

181. Nard is known to have been found in Baluchistan even in the present century (Schoff, *Periplus*, p. 170).

182. *Periplus*, sec. 37.

183. *Ibid.*, sec. 39.

184. According to Pliny, the price of nard was 100 denarii a pound (*NH*, XII, 26, 43).

185. For the date of the *Periplus*, see B. N. Mukherjee, *Kanishka I and the Deccan (The Kushānas and the Deccan*, pt. I), appendix II.

186. *T'oung Pao*, 1905, s. II, vol. VI, p. 519.

187. *Wei-lüeh* quoted in the commentary on the *Wei-chih*, ch. XXX, p. 13r.

188. *T'oung Pao*, 1907, s. II, vol. VIII, p. 176, f.n.

189. F. Hirth, *China and the Roman Orient, Researches into Their Ancient and Mediaeval Relations as Presented in Old Chinese Records*, pp. 207f; *T'oung Pao*, 1915, s. II, vol. XVI, pp. 690-691.

190. *HHS*, ch. 118; *T'oung Pao*, 1907, s. II, vol. VIII,

p. 175; *Wei-lüeh*, quoted in the commentary on the *Wei chih*, ch. XXX, p. 13r; *T'oung Pao*, 1905, s. II, vol. VI, p. 555.

191. *ASSIPH*, p. 135, n. 184.

192. *T'oung Pao*, 1907, s. II, vol. VIII, p. 176 and f.n. 1.

193. R. Turner, *A Comparative Dictionary of the Indo-Aryan Languages*, p. 457.

194. For references see P. Ray, *History of Chemistry in Ancient and Mediaeval India (Incorporating the History of Hindu Chemistry by Acharya Prafulla Chandra Ray)*, pp. 66, 115, 119, 132, 140, 150, etc.; N. N. Basu, *Viśvakosha*, vol. XI, p. 243; etc.

195. *Charaka-saṁhitā* (edited by V. J. T. Acharya, 3rd. edition), p. 17; P. Ray, *op. cit.*, p. 60.

196. N. N. Basu, *op. cit.*, vol. XI, p. 245.

197. K. Bhishagaratna, *An English Translation of the Sushruta Samhita* (The Chowkhamba Sanskrit Studies, vol. XXX), vol. I, p. III quoting Dallana's commentary on the *Suśruta-saṁhitā*, *Sūtrasthānam*, ch. I. "We have also a text in a revised form by Chandrata" (R. C. Majumdar (editor), *op. cit.*, p. 277).

198. *Suśruta-saṁhitā*, *Chikitsāsthānam*, ch. XXV, *Kalpasthānam*, ch. III.

199. *Ibid.*, *Chikitsāsthānam*, ch. XXV.

200. P. Ray, *op. cit.*, p. 61.

201. Chi-chia-yeh and T'an-yao (translators), *Fu fa-tsang yin yüan chuan (Taisho Tripitaka*, no. 2058), pp. 315f.

202. B. N. Mukherjee, *Kaṇishka I and the Deccan (The Kushāṇas and the Deccan*, pt. I), pp. 105-107.

203. See above n. 195.

204. K. Bhishagaratna, *op. cit.*, vol. I, introduction; P. Ray, *op. cit.*, p. 61; R. C. Majumdar (editor), *op. cit.*, pp. 388-389; *BSOS*, 1930-32, vol. VI, pp. 417-29.

205. Amarasiṁha, *Nāmaliṅgānuśāsana*, *Dvitiyaṁ Bhūmyādikāṇḍam*, *Vaiśavargaḥ*, 99 (100 in some editions).

206. H. D. Sharma and N. G. Sardesai (editors), *op. cit.*, pp. III and X. Kshīrasvāmī implies that Amarasiṁha was prior to the Buddhist grammarian Chandragomin. So Amarasiṁha should be placed before c. A.D. 450, when Chandragomin is considered to have flourished.

207. U. C. Dutta has made an interesting observation in his *Hindu Materia Medica*. He has pointed out that in the *Chakradattasaṁgraha*, "a work written previous to the eighth century", there are references to the preparations of mercury with

sulphur and vegetable substances, but not to those of it produced by sublimation and chemical combination with acids. This indicates, according to U. C. Dutta, that mercury had just come into use in India at the time of the composition of this work. This evidence may, however, only betray the ignorance of the author concerned, and not of the Indian medical world, of all the possible preparations of this metallic element. As pointed out above, the *Suśruta-saṃhitā* refers to it. The different synonyms of the word mercury given in the *Nāmaliṅgānuśāsana* (*chapala*, *rasa*, *sūta* and *pārata*) indicate that the metallic element itself, if not all of its preparations, was known to the Indian scientists by the date of the composition of that treatise (see above nn. 205-206).

208. G. Watts, *Dictionary of the Economic Products of India*, vol. V (1891), p. 233.

209. *Ibid.*, p. 232; *JRASB*, 1948, vol. XIV, no. 1, pp. 43 and 85.

210. *Journal Asiatique*, 1915, s. XI, vol. V, p. 55.

211. We should, however, admit that the Tibetan authors sometimes used to translate and not transliterate Indian names.

212. H. D. Sharma and N. G. Sardesai (editors), *op. cit.*, pp. V and 222.

213. For references see N. N. Basu, *op. cit.*, vol. XI, pp. 243 f.

214. There is no evidence in support of the theory that the "original home" of the Pāradas was in the Oxus valley (S. B. Chaudhury, *Ethnic Settlements in Ancient India*, pt. I, p. 115). This observation remains valid even after accepting the suggested identification of the Vakshu or the Oxus with the Chakshu, on the bank of which a habitat of the Pāradas is placed by some *Purāṇas* (see above n. 128).

215. C. D. Dalal and R. A. Sastry (editor), *Kāvya-mīmāṃsā of Rājasekhara* (Gaekward Oriental Series, no. 1), p. 248.

216. B. N. Puri, *The History of the Gurjara-Pratihāras*, p. 9.

217. In a section of the Vaṅgavāṣī edition of the *Brahmaṇḍa Purāṇa* (51, 50-52) Pārada has been included among the Aryan countries (Ārya janapadas) through which flows the Gaṅgā (Ganges). However, the appearance of the name *Pārada* in this context may be due to a scribal error in an earlier or later manuscript of this *Purāṇa*. For similar mistakes in different manuscripts of the *Purāṇas* see our article "A critical Examination of Alberuni's Charges Against the Copyists of the *Purāṇas*"

in *The Indian Historical Quarterly*, 1959, vol. XXXV, pp. 132-138.

We are not sure whether the term *Pārā* mentioned in the *Kurvalayamālā* of Udyotana-sūri (edited by A. N. Upadhye, Singhi Jain Series, no. 45, p. 23, 22f; pt. II, Singhi Jain Series, no. 36, p. 116) as referring to one of the eighteen kinds of horses has any historical connection with the name *Pārada*. If there has been any such connection, the word concerned in the treatise in question may denote a horse available in the country named earlier after the *Pāradas* or a kind of that animal in which the traders of a territory known as *Pārada* were interested.

It is difficult to consider *Paraḍā*, referred to as a kind of snake in the *Deśināmamālā* of Hemachandra (VI, 6; edited by M. Banerjee, p. 154), as having been so named because it abounded in a territory named after the *Pāradas*.

In the Pennuguluru grant of Tirumala I dated in the Śaka year 1493 one Appana is referred to as a *Parātam* (*El*, vol. XVI, p. 262). It is doubtful whether it can be suggested that the name *Pārata* has been wrongly spelt as *Parāta* in the record from the Cuddapah district.

218. B. N. Mukherjee, *The Kushāṇa Genealogy* (*Studies in Kushāṇa Genealogy and Chronology*, vol. I), pp. 15f.

219. *Harivaṁśa*, XIV, 12, 15 and 16; *Manu-smṛiti*, X, 44; etc.

220. D. C. Sircar, *Studies in the Geography of Ancient and Mediaeval India*, p. 24, f.n. 4.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX I

MINT OF MIAOS

MIAOS is the earliest known Kushāṇa ruler. S. P. Tolstov thinks that his "coins . . . were struck at a mint or mints to the north of the Oxus, primarily because of their resemblance to the coins of Khwārazm".¹ In support of this theory it may be pointed out that while Miaos' silver tetradrachms (bust to r: king on horse) bear similarities with the Khwārazmian coinage, his oboli (bust to r: standing figure of a male) may be compared with a group of coins of Hyrcodes,² Phseigacharis,³ etc., found mainly in or around the territory of ancient Sogdiana to the north of the Oxus.⁴ Moreover, coins of Miaos have been discovered in the regions of Tashkent, Tirmidh, etc.⁵ If, as held by R. B. Whitehead, a coin of Miaos in the Fitzwilliam Museum (Cambridge) is a re-struck Seleucid or Bactrian piece,⁶ the above theory receives further support, since Seleucid and Bactrian Greek coins are known to have been imitated in the countries on the Oxus.⁷

It must, however, be admitted that coins of Miaos have been found also to the south of the Oxus (one piece referred to in the *Journal Asiatique*, 1935, vol. ccxxvi, pp. 290-291 having been discovered at Shahr-i-Banu near Tashkurgan). The provenances are located in some areas even to the south or south-east of the Hindu-Kush including Kotpur, Kabul and the country to the south of Kabul.⁸ It should be noted here that the reverse type of the tetradrachms of Miaos display-

ing "a male on horse back to right, being crowned by Nike flying from behind" is akin to a reverse device of Gondophares I which, however, shows the horse as standing to left.⁹ Gondophares I flourished some time after Miaoś and did not rule to the north of the Hindu-Kush and probably not even in the Kabul region.¹⁰ Hence if the tetradrachms of Miaoś influenced the reverse device of a class of Gondopharian coinage, these should have been in circulation in at least certain areas to the south of the Hindu-Kush.¹¹

A copper coin, bearing the reverse type and a portion of the inscription of the tetradrachms of Miaoś, was attributed to him by A. Cunningham.¹² As this coin bears "an Arian legend" (i.e. Prakrit inscription in the Kharoshthī script), the same scholar observed that the king concerned ruled over "some country to the south of the Hindu-Kush".¹³

This and a similar copper coin, now in the British Museum, have been examined by us. We have already assigned these pieces to a chief of the Parata people (see above Chapter I). The reverse device and inscription on each of them seem to be barbarous copies of those on the tetradrachms of Miaoś. The obverse bust betrays influence of that of the species of Hermaeus, whose coins (minted according to the Indo-Greek weight-system) are known to have been imitated especially in the Kabul area (see Appendix II). The Parata pieces are struck on the Indo-Greek weight standard and so meant for circulation in the territory to the south of the Hindu-Kush (see above Chapter I). These considerations and also the Kharoshthī legend on their reverse attribute them to an area to the south of that

mountain. But these are actually not the issues of Miaos. Nevertheless, the influence of the coins of Miaos on them indicates that the former were once in circulation in certain areas to the south or south-east of the Hindu-Kush.

Coins of Miaos confirm to the Attic standard,¹⁴ which weight system was not followed in mints to the south and east of the Hindu-Kush during his period (second half of the 1st century B.C.). Hence the pieces of Miaos were struck in certain regions to the north of that mountain. This inference rejects W. W. Tarn's conjecture that the coins of Miaos were produced in the mint of Kāpiśa situated to the south-east of the Hindu-Kush.¹⁵ The basis of W. W. Tarn's theory, viz. the supposed relationship between Hermaeus and Miaos,¹⁶ lacks proper foundation.

The origin of the coinage of Miaos cannot also be attributed to any mint in Sogdiana to the north of the Oxus. V. M. Masson has shown that the coinage of this area followed a metrology somewhat different from the weight standard of pure Attic tetradrachms.¹⁷

However, in the Ta-hsia area of Bactria, conquered by the Yüeh-chih in the 2nd century B.C., the early Bactrian Greek tetradrachms and oboli and their imitations could have remained in circulation even in the 1st century B.C. The reel and astragalos border of the obverse of the tetradrachms of Miaos may indeed betray the influence of early Bactrian Greek coinage. This feature can be noticed on coins of Eucratides I, Heliocles, etc., which are also known to have been imitated. Moreover, coins struck in Ta-hsia could have found access, at least through trade and commerce, into

the Transoxianan territory and also into some areas to the south of the Hindu-Kush, lying not far off. In fact, one of the hsi-hou of Ta-hsia was Kuei-shuang = Kushāṇa. Hence the origin of the coinage of Kushāṇa Miao should be attributed, at least in the present state of our knowledge, to a mint or mints of that hsi-hou.¹⁸

NOTES

1. *Vestnik Drevnei Istorii*, 1939, no. 2, p. 118; R. N. Frye, *Notes on the Early Coinage of Transoxiana*, p. 9.
2. CCGSK, pl. XXIV, no. 819; E. J. Rapson, *Indian Coins*, p. 10.
3. CCGSK, pl. XXIV, no. 16.
4. *East*, 1967, vol. I, pp. 179 f.; *Reveu Numismatique*, 1925, pp. 143-145.
5. *NC*, 1940, p. 122.
6. *Ibid.*
7. *Ibid.*, 1889, p. 302.
8. *NC*, 1888, p. 50; H. H. Wilson, *Ariana Antiqua, A Descriptive Account of Antiquities and Coins of Afghanistan: With a Memoir on the Buildings called Topes*, by C. Masson, Esq., p. 506.
9. *PMC*, vol. I, pl. XV, no. 43.
10. *ASSIPH*, appendix II.
11. *NC*, 1888, p. 50; *Reveu Numismatique*, 1925, pp. 40-41.
12. *NC*, 1888, pl. III, no. 13.
13. *Ibid.*, p. 4.
14. *NC*, 1888, p. 57.
15. W. W. Tarn, *Greeks in Bactria and India* (2nd edition), p. 506.
16. *Ibid.*, p. 504.
17. *Vestnik Drevnei Istorii*, 1955, no. 2, pp. 43-46.
18. *Taxila*, vol. II, p. 838.

APPENDIX II

COINS BEARING THE NAMES OF HERMAEUS
AND KUJULA

SEVERAL copper coins have on the obverse the name of king Hermaeus and on the reverse that of Kujula. The obverse bears a diademed bust and the reverse displays the figure of standing Herakles with lion's skin and club.¹ These are sometimes considered as joint issues of the Kushāṇa ruler Kujula and the Indo-Greek king Hermaeus.² In fact, scholars like S. Konow,³ H. C. Raychaudhuri,⁴ D. C. Sircar,⁵ J. E. Van Lohuizen-De Leeuw,⁶ A. Simonetta,⁷ etc., seem to be in favour of associating with Hermaeus all coins bearing his name. However, this theory does not bear close scrutiny.

Species carrying the name of Hermaeus and struck on the standard introduced by the Indo-Greeks to the south, south-east and south-west of the Hindu-Kush (see above pp. 11-12) can be divided into several classes on the basis of the quality of fabric, legend and palaeography.⁸ Class I consists of silver coins of good quality and metal displaying either a diademed as well as helmeted horseman and enthroned Zeus-Mithra, or a diademed as well as helmeted bust and enthroned Zeus-Mithra, or a diademed bust and enthroned Zeus-Mithra devices, and carrying on the obverse the Greek legend ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ ΕΡΜΑΙΟΥ and on the reverse the Kharosthī inscription *Maharajasa Tratarasa Heramayasa*.⁹ With this group may also be associated the silver coins, showing conjugate busts

and a diademed as well as helmeted equestrian figure, issued jointly by Hermaeus and Calliope.¹⁰ These may be considered as belonging to class I A. Square copper pieces bearing a horse and a radiate bust wearing a Phrygian cap and having inscriptions as on species of class I may be assigned to class I B.¹¹ The style of the execution of several silver coins, bearing the "diademed bust" and "enthroned Zeus-Mithra" types and legends of class I, is inferior to or different from that of the rest of the species with similar devices and inscriptions belonging to class I.¹² We may also notice differences between the details of the representations of Zeus-Mithra on these two sets of coins.¹³ As it has been pointed out by K. W. Dobbins, the monograms on the silver species in question are different from those on coins of class I.¹⁴ These silver species may be described as belonging to class I C. Class II comprises silver (often base ?) coins of coarse workmanship having the same types and legends as on pieces of class I C, even though the round *omicron* is replaced by its square form.¹⁵ Within class III should be included the copper pieces of very crude fabric either bearing the "diademed bust" and "enthroned Zeus-Mithra" types and the reverse legend *Maharajasa Mahatasa Heramayasa* or displaying a diademed bust and winged Nike and the reverse inscription *Maharajasa Rajarajasa Mahatasa Heramayasa*. On the obverse of all of these coins appear a legend in the Greek script. It is similar to that on species of class II excepting the fact that $\Sigma \Omega \text{THP} \square \Sigma$ of the legend of class II is replaced here by $\Sigma \text{THP} \square \Sigma \Sigma \text{Y}$.¹⁶ To class IV should be ascribed the copper coins of similar quality, bearing the Greek legend $\text{BA} [\text{I} \wedge \text{E} \Omega \Sigma \Sigma \text{THP} \square \Sigma \Sigma \text{Y} \text{EPMAI} \square \text{Y}]$ on the obverse.

and the Kharoshthī inscription *Kujula Kasasa Kushana Yavugasa Dhramathidasa* on the reverse.¹⁷ These coins carry, as noted above, a diademed bust and the figure of Herakles.

None of the suggested interpretations of the word $\Sigma\text{THP}\square\Sigma\Sigma\text{Y}$, offered by those associating the coins of class III with the rule of Hermaeus, is convincing.¹⁸ The appearance of $\Sigma\text{THP}\square\Sigma\Sigma\text{Y}$ in place of $\Sigma\Omega\text{THP}\square\Sigma$ can be explained, as has already been suggested ingeniously by E. J. Rapson,¹⁹ only by assuming that the engravers did not properly understand the Greek language. This blunder with the Greek legend—not an uncommon feature of the Scytho-Parthian coinage—precludes the possibility of the coins having been the products of a pure Greek mint. Hence these pieces as well as those of class IV, which betray the same mistake, should be placed after the end of the Greek rule in India and its border lands, even though temporarily in some parts.²⁰

Two interesting points should be noted here. Many coins of class III have on the reverse the figure of Nike, and all species of class IV display on the reverse the representation of Herakles. However, neither of these divinities can be found on the undoubtedly genuine issues of Hermaeus belonging to class I. Since unofficial copies normally display all or majority of the features of the originals, these coins are probably official or semi-official imitations.

The Hermaeus coins of class III may have been issued, as we have suggested elsewhere,²¹ by local chiefs in some parts of the kingdom of Hermaeus lying to the south of the Hindu-Kush, where the original bilingual coins had been in circulation. There is nothing

to support the theory of W. W. Tarn that these were minted by Kujala as "pedigree" coins.²² On the other hand, of the relevant coins of class III and those of class IV bearing the names of Kujala and Hermaeus, the latter betray more deviation from the prototypes. Hence we may suggest, although tentatively, that the species of class IV should be placed after those of class III.

This suggests a considerable gap of time between the dates of the genuine Hermaeus coins and those with the name of Kujala on the reverse. Such an inference is in consonance with the hypotheses that the earliest possible date for Hermaeus can be placed as early as in the closing decades of the second century B.C.,²³ and that Kujala Kadphises probably did not end his rule before the first century A.D.²⁴

We are not absolutely sure whether the coins of Class II should be ascribed to Hermaeus himself. However, we may consider certain premises. A number of hoards containing Indo-Greek issues down to and including the coins of class I (minted by Hermaeus) and of class IA (struck by Hermaeus and Caliope) have been found in the Charsadda area.²⁵ A comparison between the contents of the hoards indicates their burials about the same time.²⁶ Such internments might have been caused by political chaos marking a turbulent period and/or the end of the rule of Hermaeus. If this hypothesis is correct, we may be tempted to place the coins of class II, none of which is found in these hoards, after the reign of that king. In any case, we can safely conclude that all coins bearing the name of Hermaeus are not to be ascribed to his time, and that Kujala, who imitated the legend

and device of Hermaeus, flourished long after the latter.

It has been noted above that the monograms on coins of class I C are different from those on pieces of class I. The monograms used for species of class I can be noticed also on products of genuine Greek mints like the coins of class I A issued jointly by Hermaeus and Calliope, the silver coin-type of Hermaeus struck on the Attic standard and carrying Greek legend only, and the coins of the Indo-Greek rulers Philoxenus Aniketos and Diomedes Soter.²⁷ This and also somewhat inferior style of execution, indicated by the pieces of class I C, lead us to support K. W. Dobbins' broad conclusion that these are to be dated after Hermaeus.²⁸ We must, however, admit that the coins of class I C, betraying new or modified monograms and somewhat coarse workmanship, might have been products of the closing years of the reign of Hermaeus, when nomadic invasions²⁹ could have caused serious damage to his administration including the minting system.³⁰

It appears that coins of class II and perhaps also of class I C were struck after the period of Hermaeus. The replacement of round *omicron* on coins of class I C by square *omicron* on those of class II may locate the species of class II in a region or regions different from the area of regular circulation of the pieces of class I C or rather may date class II after class I C.

All of the tenuous arguments recently put forward by K. W. Dobbins³¹ for dating the imitations of the silver coinage of Hermaeus are not immediately acceptable to us, and we propose to deal with them somewhere else in near future. Nevertheless, some of

the data furnished by him and other scholars and the above line of reasoning strongly suggest that coins of classes II and III and perhaps also of class I C should be placed between the genuine issues of Hermaeus and the period of Kujula, who imitated the legend and device of Hermaeus. The species of classes II and III and perhaps also of class I C were struck by local chiefs and/or invading nomads in certain areas to the south of the Hindu-Kush.

We have pointed out above that the Parata coins carrying a bust on the obverse and a male riding a horse on the reverse betray influences of the coinages of Miao and of the series bearing the names of Kujula and Hermaeus (see above pp. 2-4). These Parata coins should therefore be placed not earlier than the reign of Kujula, which, as we have seen, must be dated long after Hermaeus.³²

NOTES

1. *PMC*, vol. I, p. 178.
2. J. E. Van Lohuizen-De Leeuw, *The "Scythian Period", An Approach to the History, Art, Epigraphy and Palaeography of North India from the 1st Century B.C. to the 3rd Century A.D.*, p. 351; R. C. Majumdar (editor), *The Age of Imperial Unity*, p. 138; etc.
3. *CII*, vol. II, pt. I, pp. LXIII-LXIV. But see also *JIH*, 1933, vol. XII, p. 29.
4. H. C. Raychaudhuri, *Political History of Ancient India* (5th edition), p. 461.
5. R. C. Majumdar (editor), *op. cit.*, pp. 118 and 138.
6. J. E. Van Lohuizen-De Leeuw, *op. cit.*, pp. 351 and 361.
7. *East and West*, 1957, vol. VIII, p. 64.
8. Hermaeus minted coins on Attic standard as well as on the weight standard followed by the Indo-Greeks to the south, south-east and south-west of the Hindu-Kush. Silver tetradrachms of Hermaeus, struck on the Attic standard and meant for circulation to the north of the Hindu-Kush, carry on the obverse the bust of the king within astragalos border and on the reverse a Greek legend and enthroned Zeus-Mithra, having a radiating head and holding a sceptre and callipers (*JNSI*, 1955, vol. XVII, pt. I, p. 52, no. 54; pl. VII, no. 5).
9. A. N. Lahiri, *Corpus of Indo-Greek Coins*, p. 130; pl. XXI, nos. 2, 3, 4 and 4a. Silver coins of class I bear the diademed bust of Hermaeus and a Greek legend on the obverse and the figure of enthroned Zeus-Mithra holding a sceptre and callipers and a Kharoshthī inscription on the reverse. On some varieties of coins of this class the bust of the king appears helmeted as well as diademed (*ibid.*, p. 140; pl. XXI, nos. 7 & 8). On the obverse of some varieties of coins the armed figure of Hermaeus is shown as riding on a prancing horse (*ibid.*, pp. 140-141; pl. XXI, no. 9).
10. *Ibid.*, p. 142; pl. XXII, nos. 1 and 2; *PMC*, vol. I, p. 86 and pl. IX, no. 693. Silver coins of class I A bear on the obverse conjugate diademed busts of Hermaeus and Calliope and the Greek legend ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ ΕΡΜΑΙΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΚΑΛΛΙΟΠΗΣ. On the reverse appear the figure of king, helmeted and fully armed, on a prancing horse, and the Kharoshthī inscription *Maharajasa Tratarasa Heramayasa Kaliyapasa*.

11. A. N. Lahiri, *op. cit.*, p. 141 and pl. XXI, no. 12. A bust wearing a Phrygian cap and the Greek legend ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ ΕΡΜΑΙΟΥ appear on the obverse and a trotting horse and the Kharoshthi inscription *Maharajasa Tratarasa Heramayasa* can be noticed on the reverse of these square copper pieces.

12. K. W. Dobbins, "The Question of Imitation Hermaios Coinage", *East and West*, 1970, vol. XX, no. 3, pl. facing p. 318, figs. 2-151; see also pp. 307-309.

13. *Ibid.*

14. *Ibid.*

15. A. N. Lahiri, *op. cit.*, pp. 140 and 142, pl. XXI, nos. 5, 6, 10 and 11 and pl. XXXIV, nos. 11 and 12; E. J. Rapson (editor), *The Cambridge History of India*, vol. I, *Ancient India*, p. 561. These coins carry a diademed bust on the obverse and enthroned Zeus-Mithra holding a sceptre and callipers on the reverse. Some pieces of this class are more crudely executed than several other coins of the same class (compare A. N. Lahiri, *op. cit.*, pl. XXI, nos. 5 and 6 with *ibid.*, pl. XXI, nos. 10 and 11). This indicates two varieties which may be termed as class II A and class II B. Some coins betraying crude workmanship show Zeus-Mithra as wearing a peculiar cap (*ibid.*, pl. XXXIV, nos. 11 and 12). These may be assigned to class II C.

16. *Ibid.*, p. 142 and pl. XXI, no. 13; pl. XXXIV, no. 13. The coins carrying the Kharoshthi inscription *Maharajasa Mahatasa Heramayasa* display a diademed bust on the obverse and the figure of enthroned Zeus-Mithra holding a sceptre and callipers on the reverse. The pieces with the Kharoshthi legend *Maharajasa Rajarajasa Mahatasa Heramayasa* bear a diademed bust on the obverse and the figure of winged Nike holding a wreath and a palm on the reverse.

17. See above n. 1.

18. NC, 1892, p. 46; *Journal Asiatique*, 1889, s. VIII, vol. XIII, pp. 364f; *JRAS*, 1897, pp. 319f; 1913, p. 632, f.n. 1; 1914, pp. 82f; *Sitzungsberichte der Kais. Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien*, 1917, pp. 45f and 59f; *CH*, vol. II, pt. I, pp. LXIII-LXIV; W. W. Tarn, *The Greeks in Bactria and India* (2nd edition), p. 504; etc.

19. E. J. Rapson (editor), *op. cit.*, pp. 561-562.

20. G. K. Jenkins, "Indo-Scythian Mints", *JNSI*, 1955,

vol. XVII, pt. II, pp. 15f and 22-23; see also A. D. H. Bivar, "Indo-Bactrian Problems", *NC*, 1965, pp. 90 f.

21. B. N. Mukherjee, *Kushāṇa Genealogy* (*Studies in Kushāṇa Genealogy and Chronology*, vol. I), pp. 93-94, n. 26.

22. W. W. Tarn, *op. cit.*, p. 504.

23. *ASSIPH*, p. 75.

24. *Ibid.*, pp. 186-188.

25. *JNSI*, 1955, vol. XVII, pt. I, p. 21.

26. *Ibid.*

27. *CCGSK*, pl. XV, nos. 9 and 10; pp. 31 and 56; *JNSI*, 1955, vol. XVII, pt. I, p. 43; *PMC*, vol. I, pl. IV, no. 213; pl. VII, no. 590; *NC*, 1965, pl. VII, no. 5; *East and West*, 1970, vol. XX, no. 3, pp. 307-308, chart of special signs and symbols, nos. 1, 2, 3, 12 and 13.

28. *East and West*, 1970, vol. XX, no. 3, pp. 307-310 and 320; 28th International Congress of Orientalists, *Abstracts of Papers*, Program (*sic*) no. 2, South Asia, p. 28.

29. *ASSIPH*, pp. 75 f.

30. In this connection see E. J. Rapson (editor), *op. cit.*, p. 561 and p. 562, f.n. 1.

31. *East and West*, 1970, vol. XX, no. 3, pp. 317-319.

32. Several modern scholars now believe that the coins bearing the names of Hermaeus and Kujula may be dated after the reign of Hermaeus. For an example see A. K. Narain, *The Indo-Greeks*, pp. 159 f.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

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<i>Annals</i> (edited by M. J. de Goeje)	<i>Al-Ṭabarī, Tārīkh-al-rusūl W'al-mulūk</i> (edited by de Goeje, M. J.). [see Select Bibliography, section I(i)D].
ASSIPH	Mukherjee, B.N., <i>An Agrippan Source—A Study in Indo-Parthian History</i> , Calcutta, 1969.
BSOAS	<i>Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies</i> , London.
BSOS	<i>The Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies</i> , London.
CCADWK	Rapson, E. J., <i>A Catalogue of the Indian Coins in the British Museum, Catalogue of the Coins of the Andhra Dynasty, The Western Kṣatrapas, The Traikūṭakas and the "Bodhi" Dynasty</i> , London, 1908.
CCGSK	Gardner, P., <i>A Catalogue of Indian Coins in the British Museum, The Coins of the Greek and Scythic Kings of Bactria and India in the British Museum</i> , London, 1886.
CII	Konow, S., <i>Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum</i> , vol. II, pt. I, — <i>Kharoshthī Inscriptions With the Exception of Those of Aśoka</i> , Calcutta, 1929.
EI	<i>Epigraphia Indica</i> , Calcutta and Delhi.
Erānshahr	Marquart, J., "Erānshahr, nach der Geographie des Ps. Moses Xorenac'i," <i>Abhandlungen der Königlichen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen</i> .

- gen, Phil.-Hist. Klasse, ns, vol. III, pt. 2, 1899-1901.
- HHS Fan Yeh, *Hou Han-shu* (Ssu-pu pie-yao edition).
- JAS *Journal of the Asiatic Society*, Calcutta.
- JASB *The Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Calcutta.
- JIH *Journal of Indian History*, Trivandrum.
- JNSI *The Journal of the Numismatic Society of India*, Calcutta, Bombay and Varanasi.
- JRAS *The Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland*, London.
- JRASB *The Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Calcutta.
- MASI *Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India*, Calcutta and Delhi.
- NC *The Numismatic Chronicle (and Journal of the Royal Numismatic Society)*, London.
- NH Pliny, *Naturalis Historia* (Loeb Classical Library edition, 10 vols., London and Cambridge, Mass., 1956-63).
- NS *Numismatic Supplement (of the Journal and Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta)*.
- Paikuli Herzfeld, E., *Paikuli : Monument and Inscription of the Early History of the Sasanian Empire*, 2 vols., Berlin, 1924.
- Pauly Vissowa, G. (editor), *Pauly's Realen-*

- cyclopadie der Classischen Altertumswissenschaft*, Stuttgart, 1893-.
- Periplus* *Periplus Tes Erythras Thalasses* or *Periplus Maris Erythraei* (Frisk, H. (editor), *Le Périphe de la Mar Érythrée*, Göteborg, 1927).
- PMC* Whitehead, R. B., *Catalogue of Coins in the Panjab Museum*, Lahore, vol. I—*Indo-Greek Coins*, Oxford, 1914.
- Ptolemy* Ptolemy, C., *Geographike Huphegesis* (edited by Nobbe, C.F.A., 3 vols., Leipzig, 1898).
- Schoff, *Periplus* Schoff, W. H. (translator), *The Periplus of the Erythraean Sea*, New York, 1912.
- Strabo* Strabo, *Geographikon* (Loeb Classical Library edition, 8 vols., reprint, London and Cambridge, Mass., 1959-1967).
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SUPPLEMENTARY NOTES

SUPPLEMENTARY NOTES

1. P. 23
n. 62. Add the following after "grains." in line 5 :
In this connection see also *JNSI*, 1970, vol. XXXII, p. 143.
2. P. 78
n. 120. Add the following after "P. 24." in line 42 :
We should note here that the translation of the *Mahāmāyūrī Vidyārājñī* (*Ta kin sse k'ong ts'io ch'ou king*) (*Nanjio*, no. 311), done by Kumārajīva between A.D. 402 and 412, is not the earliest rendering of the text into Chinese. Translations of this treatise [(*Fo shuo*) *ta k'ong ts'io wang ch'ou king* (*Nanjio*, no. 309) and (*Fo shuo*) *ta k'ong ts'io wang tsa shan ch'ou king* (*Nanjio*, no. 310)], which are attributed in the Ming edition to Po Śrīmitra, were made between A.D. 317 and 322 (S. Levi, "Le Catalogue Géographique des Yakṣa dans la *Mahāmāyūrī*", *Journal Asiatique*, 1915, pp. 23-24).
3. P. 79
n 121. Add the following after "P. 55." in the 1 :
It may be pointed out that the full list of tutelary Yakshas does not occur in the translations done by Po Śrīmitra and Kumārajīva (*ibid.*, p. 23). The list appears in the translation [(*Fo shuo*) *k'ong ts'io wang ch'ou king* (*Nanjio*, no. 308)] done by Saṃghabhara (or Saṃghabhata) in A.D.

516, and in the Chinese renderings of the treatise concerned by Yi-tsing [(*Fo shuo t'a k'ong ts'io ch'ou wang king* (Nanjio, no. 306)], Amoghavajra [*Fo mu ta k'ong ts'io ming wang king* (Nanjio, no. 307)] etc. (*Journal Asiatique*, 1915, pp. 23f). This, however, does not prove that the list of Yakshas did not form a part of the *Mahāmāyūrī Vidyārājñī* before it was first translated into Chinese.

4. P. 86

n. 209 Add the following after "85." in line 16 :

It should be understood that we are not suggesting any connection of the Pāradas with the establishment of the pīṭha of Hīṅgulā itself. In fact, we have no clear idea of the religious affiliation of the Pāradas. We may here only draw attention of scholars to the reference in the *Mahāmāyūrī Vidyārājñī* to Pārāśara as the Yaksha in the Pārata country (*Journal Asiatique*, 1915, p. 55).

DESCRIPTION OF PLATES

DESCRIPTION OF PLATES

PLATE I

A map of a part of the Orient, indicating the localities connected with different phases of the history of the Pāradaś. It should be noted that all of the topographical names appearing in the map do not belong to one particular period of the history of the Orient.

PLATE II

Nos. 1 and 2 :—Coin of Padadaka, the Parata king (now in the British Museum).

No. 3 :—Coin of Puḍena, the Parata king (now in the British Museum).

No. 4 :—Coin of Puḍhrena (Puḍena) (now in the British Museum).

No. 5 :—Coin of Hvaramira, the Parata king (now in the collection of Mr. H. Shortt).

No. 6 :—Coin of Palasara, the Parata king (known to have been in the G. B. Bleazeby collection).

No. 7 :—Coin of Ajuna, the Parata king (now in the British Museum).

No. 8 :—Coin of Mitolāpa (?) (published by E. J. Rapson in *JRAS*, 1905).

PLATE III

No. 9 :—Coin of Miaos (now in the British Museum).

No. 10 :—Coin bearing the names of Hermaeus and Kujula (now in the British Museum).

No. 11 :—Coin of Gondophares I (now in the British Museum).

No. 12 :—Coin of Hormizd I Kushānshāh (now in the British Museum (?)).

PLATE IV

Nos. 13-22 :—Legends on coins of the Paratas. For the transcriptions of these inscriptions into Roman characters, see above Chapter II, pp. 28-33.

No. 23 :—Legend on a coin which may be doubtfully associated with the Parata coinage. For the reading of the legend see above Chapter II, p. 34.

No. 24 :—Chinese character *t'o*.

No. 25 :—Chinese character *ch'ih*.

No. 26 :—Chinese character *Fei*.

No. 27 :—Chinese character *P'ai*.

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CORRIGENDA

Page No.	Line No.	In place of	Read
7	16	Hvavamira	Hvāramira
7	20-21	Palasara, the (son of some body and) Parata king.	Palasara, (the son of some person and) the Parata king.
7	26-27	(13.97 milimetres.	(13.97 milimetres).
20	26	JASB	JASB, 1897
22	40	H. Cordrington	H. Codrington
24	15	Achaeminid	Achaemenid
27	27	monetary	minting
35	11	or	of
38	29	Persipolis	Persepolis
39	17	<i>Persipolis</i>	<i>Persepolis</i>
40	17	Persipolis	Persepolis
40	23	Persipolis	Persepolis
41	3	Persipolis	Persepolis
41	15	Siestan	Seistan
42	9	Persipolis	Persepolis
42	24-25	Persipolis	Persepolis
45	32	<i>Vangāscha</i>	<i>Vaṅgāścha</i>
45	32	<i>nivāsinaḥ</i>	<i>nivāsinaḥ</i>
49	18	Naresh	Narseh
53	21	<i>Prahmāṇḍa</i>	<i>Brahmāṇḍa</i>
63	26-27	<i>Śuśruta-saṁhitā</i>	<i>Suśruta-saṁhitā</i>
63	29	<i>Śuśruta-saṁhitā</i>	<i>Suśruta-saṁhitā</i>
63	33	<i>Śuśruta-saṁhitā</i>	<i>Suśruta-saṁhitā</i>
64	18	Gunarāta	Guṇarāta
64	31	pīṭha Hīṅgulā	pīṭha of Hīṅgulā
67	13	After that the	After that or after the age of the <i>Bṛihat-saṁhitā</i> the
70	30	J. D. Cambell, D. P. Blackmore	J. D. Campbell, D. P. Blackmore

Page No.	Line No.	In place of	Read
71	7	<i>Nāṭyaśāstra</i>	<i>Nāṭyaśāstra</i>
77	3	<i>Wa'lmulūk</i>	<i>Wa'l-mulūk</i>
77	25	<i>Brāhmaṇa</i>	<i>Brāhmaṇa</i>
79	13	Bahlikas	Bāhlikas
81	10	<i>Bṛihnnāradiya</i>	<i>Bṛihannāradiya</i>
81	28	Sakas	Śakas
84	2	R. Kunjawadekar	R. Kinjawadekar
85	1	<i>Wei chih</i>	<i>Wei-chih</i>
85	22	<i>Chikitsāsthānam</i>	<i>Chikitsāsthānam</i>
86	13	G. Watts	G. Watt
87	4	<i>Kurvalayamālā</i>	<i>Kuvalaymālā</i>
98	18	border lands	borderlands

PLATES

PLATE I

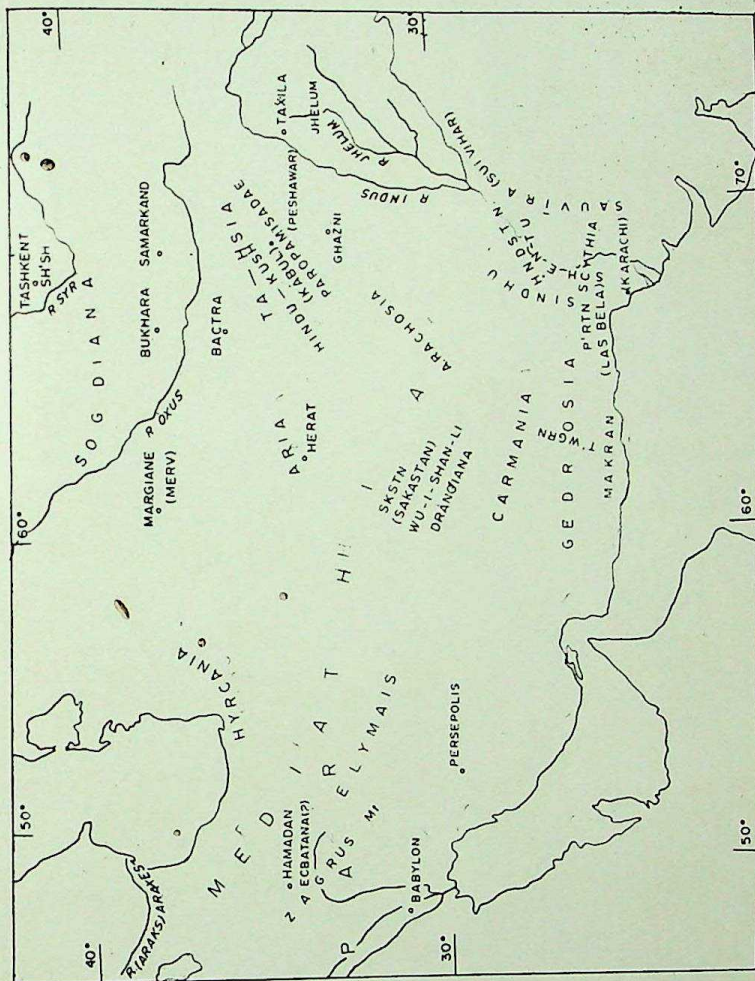


PLATE II



1



2



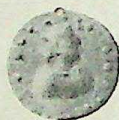
3



4



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6



7



8

PLATE III



9



10



11



12



- [illegible]

BY THE SAME AUTHOR

1. *The Kushāṇa Genealogy (Studies in Kushāṇa Genealogy and Chronology, vol. I)*, Calcutta, 1967.

"a sound piece of research work"—Dr. D. C. Sircar (*Journal of Indian History*, 1968).

"... an outstanding piece of research ... The author has shown great balance and scholarship in marshalling the facts, and has presented his views in a convincing manner"—Dr. P. Banerji (*Indo-Asian Culture*, vol. XVIII).

2. *Itihāsa — Ekṭi Prāchīna Bhāratiya Chetanā* (in Bengali), Calcutta, 1968.

A study of the philosophy of history in ancient India.

3. *Kanishka I and the Deccan (The Kushāṇas and the Deccan, pt. I)*, Calcutta, 1968.

"This book is a product of serious researches"—Dr. R. G. Basak (*Journal of the Asiatic Society*, Calcutta, 1968).

4. *Nanā on Liḍn — A study in Kushāṇa Numismatic Art*, Calcutta, 1969.

"The monograph covers a wide ranging field with evident virtuosity, and is additionally useful for the survey it provides of recent work in many quarters on Kushāṇa antiquities"—Dr. A. D. H. Bivar (*Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, London, 1971).

"Brief, yet comprehensive, the book is a product of deep scholarship"—D. Handa (*Vishveshvaranand Indological Journal*, 1970).

"The book is a welcome addition to the meagre literature on Indian numismatics"—Dr. D. C. Sircar (*Journal of Ancient Indian History*, vol. IV).

Dr. Mukherjee "has entered with this monograph into an almost virgin field with his profound scholarship. ... This monograph sets a new pattern in the research in the history of Indian iconography and numismatic art. Dr. Mukherjee deserves our high praise"—Dr. P. L. Gupta (*Journal of the Asiatic Society*, 1970).

5. *An Agrippan Source—A Study in Indo-Parthian History*, Calcutta, 1969.

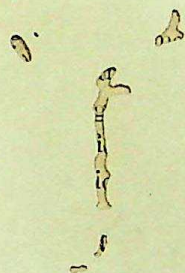
"The laborious and critical study involved in preparing this work may be judged from the exhaustive and detailed references in the footnotes and the discussions on some allied topics in the five appendices. I regard the book as a scholarly contribution to our knowledge of ancient Indian history and commend it to all serious students of the subject"—Dr. R. C. Majumdar.

"It is a remarkably learned work worthy of emulation in the field of methodology of Indian history"—Dr. B. P. Majumdar (*The Journal of the Bihar Research Society*, 1970).

6. *The Economic Factors in Kushāṇa History*, Calcutta, 1970.

This treatise is a scholarly investigation into the possibility of the existence of economic factors behind the political activities of the Imperial Kushāṇas.

"The present monograph by Dr. B. N. Mukherjee is a welcome attempt in this direction . . . he argues his case well, handles the evidence critically and takes into consideration the fully array of evidence. It is evident that Dr. Mukherjee has again made a useful contribution"—Dr. L. Gopal (*Journal of the Asiatic Society*, 1970).



The author, Bratindra Nath Mukherjee, is well-known in the academic world by his large number of articles published in different learned journals in India and abroad. He is at present the General Secretary of the Asiatic Society, Calcutta, and also one of the Trustees of the Indian Museum, Calcutta. Among his published books mention may be made of the following :—

(1) *The Kushāṇa Genealogy (Studies in Kushāṇa Genealogy and Chronology, vol. I)*, Calcutta, 1967 ;

(2) *Itihāsa—Ekṣi Prāchīna Bhāratiya Chetanā* (in Bengali), Calcutta, 1968 ;

(3) *Kanishka I and the Deccan (The Kushāṇas and the Deccan, pt. I)*, Calcutta, 1968 ;

(4) *Nanā on Lion—A Study in Kushāṇa Numismatic Art*, Calcutta, 1969 ;

(5) *An Agrippan Source—A Study in Indo-Parthian History*, Calcutta, 1969; and

(6) *The Economic Factors in Kushāṇa History*, Calcutta, 1970.

